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Kapllani Returns From Paris, Bonn Visit

*AU1506122490 Tirana ATA in English
0806 GMT 15 Jun 90*

[Text] Tirana, June 15 (ATA)—The deputy minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, who paid a short working visit to France and FR of Germany, returned home on June 14.

At the airport he was welcomed by functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Present were also the ambassador of the French Republic to Tirana, Michel Boulmer, as well as the charge d'affaires a.i. of the FR of Germany in Tirana, Werner Daum.

FRG Official Arrives, Discusses Cooperation

*AU1506123690 Tirana ATA in English
0804 GMT 15 Jun 90*

[Text] Tirana, June 15 (ATA)—The state secretary at the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation of the FR of Germany, Siegfried Lengl, arrived in our country on June 14.

Negotiations began in Tirana on June 14 between the government delegation of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, headed by the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Committee on Economic Cooperation with Foreign Countries, Farudin Hoxha, and the government delegation of the FR of Germany, headed by Siegfried Lengl, state secretary at the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation, on technical and financial cooperation between the two countries for 1990.

Myftiu Receives Lengl

*AU1706162490 Tirana ATA in English
0801 GMT 17 Jun 90*

[Text] Tirana, June 17 (ATA)—On June 16 before noon, the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Manush Myftiu, received the secretary of state at the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation of the FR of Germany, Siegfried Lengl, with whom he talked on the possibilities of further expanding the economic cooperation between the two countries.

Present at the reception which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere were also the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee on Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries, Farudin Hoxha. Present was also the charge d'affairs a.i. of the Embassy of the FR of Germany in Tirana, Werner Daum.

Technical Agreement Signed

*AU1706162590 Tirana ATA in English
0803 GMT 17 Jun 90*

[Text] Tirana, June 17 (ATA)—The protocol on technical and financial cooperation between the Government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Government of the FR of Germany for the year 1990 was signed in Tirana on June 16.

For the Albanian side the protocol was signed by the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee on Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries, Farudin Hoxha, whereas for the German side by the secretary of state at the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation, Siegfried Lengl.

Present at the signing ceremony were the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, secretary general of the Ministry of Finances, Robert Koli, as well as the members of the two delegations.

Present was also the charge d'affairs a.i. of the Embassy of the FR of Germany to the PSR of Albania, Werner Daum.

During his stay in our country the secretary of state at the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation of the FR of Germany, Siegfried Lengl, was received by the minister of industry, mines, and energy, Besnik Bekteshi. He also made visits to the districts of Tirana, and Durres.

He left our country on June 16.

Final Results Reported; Parties React, Comment

Official Election Results

AU1906172090 Sofia BTA in English
1610 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Announcement of the Central Electoral Commission About the Final Election Results"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)—The Central Electoral Commission announced today the results of the elections to a Grand National Assembly from July 10 and 17, 1990. The Commission consisted of 24 people. 200 single-member and 28 multi-member constituencies were formed. There were 12 288 polling districts.

All electoral commissions (central, constituency, district) included representatives of the major political forces as well as non-party people. A substantial part of the polling election commissions members, particularly in the constituency election commissions were jurists.

As many as 40 parties, election party coalitions, political organizations and movements participated in the election campaign.

The candidates registered for M.P.s were 3,090 of which 1,411 for the single-member constituencies and 1,679 were in the party registers for the multi-member election constituencies.

The total number of voters in the country was 6,976,620 people.

In the first round of elections after the majority system there were 6,334,415 electors who participated or 90.79 per cent, while in the second round held in 81 single-member constituencies the voters were 2,370,812, or 84.14 per cent.

In the first round there were 244,296 invalid ballots and empty envelopes while in the second round their number was 21,528.

There were 119 M.P.s elected in the first round which was held on June 10, 1990 and in 81 single-member constituencies a second round was held on June 17 and the remaining 81 M.P.s were elected, the announcement reads.

The newly-elected M.P.s according to the majority system are distributed as follows: Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)— 114 seats, Union of Democratic Forces (SDS)—69, Movement for Right and Freedoms (MRF)-—11, Fatherland Union—2, Independent—2, Social Democratic Party (Non-Marxists)— 1.

The number of electors who participated in the proportional system voting were 6,333,334, i.e. 90.60 per cent of the total number of voters. The number of invalid ballots and empty envelopes was 208,833.

The number of people who voted for the individual party lists is as follows:

Bulgarian Socialist Party —2,887,766
Union of Democratic Forces—2,317,798
Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS)—491,597
Movement for Rights and Freedoms—368,929
Fatherland Labor Party—36,668
Alternative Socialist Party—22,064
Alternative Socialist Association—16,061
Liberal Party—Pernik—15,034
Union of Invalids in Bulgaria—10,466
Union of Non-Party Members—9,978
Parliamentary Movement for Turnovo Constitution—8,354
Non-Party Members for Democracy Movement—8,195
Political Opposition Bloc (Center)—6,043
Bulgarian National Democratic Party—4,723
Union of Democratic Parties and the ERA-3 Movement—4,521
Bulgarian National-Radical Party—3,827
Christian-Republican Party—3,534
Social-Democratic Party Non-Marxists—3,036
Union of Non-Party Guarrants—1,929
Bulgarian Christian-Democratic Party (Center)—1,563
Bulgarian Revolutionary Youth Party—Varna—640
Free Democratic Party—586
United People's Union—334
National Patriotic Union—319
Organization of Cardio-Vascular-Diseased People and Socially Disadvantaged People—287
National Party of Labor and Private Owners—249.

The Union of Thracian Educational Societies, the Republican Party, the Conservative Party in Bulgaria, the Fatherland Union, the Party of Labor, The Stefan Stambolov People's Liberal Party (Veliko Turnovo), the Party of the Working People, the Obnovlenie (Renewal) Political Party, the Strong (Rigorous) Revival Union, the Nova Demokratsiya (New Democracy) National Union, the Bulgarian Democratic Forum, the New Bulgaria Movement, the Independent People's Democratic Party (Plovdiv) and the Bulgarian People's Party did not run in the proportional representation elections with their party electoral lists.

Only the parties and coalitions which received at least four per cent of the valid votes in all multi-member constituencies were granted the right to participate in the distribution of seats in parliament: They are the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

After the vote count performed in accordance with the methods adopted by the Central Electoral Commission (the d'Hondt system) the seats in parliament were distributed, based on the party electoral lists, as follows:
The Bulgarian Socialist Party—97 seats
The Union of Democratic Forces—75 seats
The Bulgarian Agrarian Party—16 seats
The Movement For Rights and Freedoms—12 seats

The elections for a Grand National Assembly were successfully completed with the election of 400 national representatives.

According to their party affiliation they are distributed as follows:
The Bulgarian Socialist Party—211 seats
The Union of Democratic Forces—144 seats
The Movement For Rights and Freedoms—23 seats
The Bulgarian Agrarian Party—16 seats
The Fatherland Union—2 seats
The Fatherland Party of Labor—1 seat
Independent National Representatives—2 seats
Social Democratic Party-non-Marxists—1 seat

The Commission reports that the elections were held in the conditions of increased political activity on the part of the population. In some constituencies and electoral districts tension was created among the supporters of the major political forces. But the tensions did not result in serious violations of the voting procedure prescribed by the election law.

The Central Electoral Commission received many complaints, field reports and protests drawing attention to certain activities carried out by representatives of separate parties, party coalitions and movements, by candidates for national representatives and observers, by representatives of the Movement For Fair Elections, officials and individual people which disturbed the normal course of the voting process or ran counter to the provisions contained in the Grand National Assembly election law. The Commission responded in due time, carried out field checks and removed the obstacles to the normal course of the elections. Most of the complaints and field reports contained remarks about the electoral registers, the printing of the ballot-papers and their distribution among the district electoral commissions, the representation of separate political parties and coalitions in the district electoral commissions, the wrong count of invalid ballot-papers and empty envelopes, propagandizing and handing out ballot-papers on the day of elections, taking ballot-papers out of the polling booths, inefficiently fenced-in polling booths, and so on.

All complaints and field reports will be systematized and, in accordance with article 78 of the Grand National Assembly Election Law, they will be presented to the Commission for checking the elections which will study them and report them to parliament.

The elections for a Grand National Assembly were held in the conditions of openness and under broad public control. Representatives of political parties, candidates' observers, journalists and guests attended the election rooms during the voting and at the time the vote-count results were rendered account of.

The elections were monitored by 54 officially invited foreign representatives of the parliaments of 11 countries, including representatives of the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the United States, the FRG, Britain, France, the USSR, Canada. 1,218 journalists and guests were accredited for the elections.

The Civic Enterprise Movement and the Movement For Fair Elections exerted broad public control on the activity of a number of district electoral commissions, representatives of parties and observers.

The Central Electoral Commission expresses the assurance that the elections for a Grand National Assembly confirm the will of the Bulgarian people for Bulgaria's advancement along the road to democracy and progress.

CEC News Conference

AU1906163390

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1613 GMT on 19 June begins a live relay from the Central Election Commission, CEC, headquarters at the National Assembly on Sofia of a news conference on the final results of the elections for the Grand National Assembly.

A person, whose name was indistinct, greets journalists, and "noted public figures and diplomats," attending the news conference. At 1615 GMT, he gives the floor to Prof. Zhivko Stalev, chairman of the CEC.

Stalev reports that the CEC has had a meeting today, at which the results of the elections for the Grand National Assembly have been reviewed and approved. "It is impossible to report here the names of all people's deputies, because this will take more than an hour," Prof. Stalev says, and therefore reads just the results achieved by the parties as follows:
The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]—211 deputies;
Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—144 deputies;
Movement for Rights and Freedoms [MRF]—23 deputies;
The Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]—16 deputies;
Independent deputies—2;
Fatherland Union—2 deputies;
Social Democratic (Non-Marxist) Party—1 deputy;
Fatherland Party of Labor—1 deputy.

Further on, Stalev reports that today the commission has met President Petur Mladenov and formally presented him with the final and official results of the elections.

Stalev says that the commission has also adopted a decision in which it "draws the attention of the Grand National Assembly to the complaints concerning election violations." Stalev points out that the Grand National Assembly "is the only organ legally entitled to deal with those complaints."

The elections were not so much a victory of this or that party, but "a victory for democracy," Stalev says.

Stalev ends his statement at 1625 GMT. The person chairing the news conference announces that President Petur Mladenov has issued a statement on the elections for the Grand National Assembly, and begins to read it. Reporter Aglaya Shamlieva says "We already informed you about the statement of President Petur Mladenov," and ends the live relay of the news conference at 1626 GMT.

BSP News Conference

AU1906123490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Yasen Indzhev report on Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP, news conference at the BSP Election Club in Sofia—live]

[Text] Elena Poptodorova, chief of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP, Press Office, opened the conference, saying that she assumed that the results of the elections were already known to everyone present. Naturally, many Bulgarian and foreign journalists participated in the news conference, and their questions were answered by Lyuben Gotsev, chief of the Election Campaign Center, and Dimitur Yonchev, spokesman for the Supreme BSP Council.

At the very start of the conference Elena Poptodorova stated that, despite the fact that the difference in the votes won was significantly to the BSP's advantage, the prevailing mood in the party, instead of a feeling of satisfaction in the election victory, was more of concern over where we are currently.

The news conference began immediately with questions and answers, without any introductory words. I will inform you of few of the answers given.

In response to a question concerning the polarization of opinions voiced during the elections, Dimitur Yonchev emphasized that the most important thing now is to not give way, at the beginning, to emotions, but to proceed toward solving specific problems. Dimitur Yonchev also responded to the question concerning the convincing difference in the votes received by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in the larger town. In his view, the chief reason for this was that the people in the towns did not vote for the SDS, but rather against the BSP. According to his opinion, it is much easier to know what you do not want than what you want.

The journalists were rather bashful, I think, avoiding questions concerning the possible composition of the future government. Nonetheless, we asked if contacts had been made with the other political forces, to which Lyuben Gotsev replied that the position of the BSP on this is well known, namely its desire for a broad coalition government, and regarding the possibility of forming a government of specialists or [passage indistinct].

Dimitur Yonchev was asked several times about the role of the opposition in the Grand National Assembly's task of drawing up a new constitution. Dimitur Yonchev regards this issue as a difficult one and, bearing in mind certain statements made by SDS leaders, preferred not to comment on that particular question.

BSP Discusses 'One-Party Government'

AU1906133790 Sofia BTA in English 1226 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Socialists Don't Rule Out Possibility of Forming One-Party Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) already proposed the formation of a broad-based coalition government, it believes this is the right thing to do, and waits for the answer of the remaining political forces, Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, member of the Presidency of the BSP Supreme Council, told the press today. He did not rule out the possibility of the formation of a one-party socialist cabinet, but said that was the last and least liked option for the BSP.

Mr. Gotsev pointed out that the Socialists did not expect to poll such a high percentage of the vote, but the results showed that the BSP, although not entirely reformed and burdened by the past, still enjoys confidence.

Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, spokesman for the BSP Supreme Council, said that in his view most of the supporters of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) were dissatisfied with their own life and knew what they were voting against rather than what they were voting for. Mrs. Elena Poptodorova, chief of the BSP Press Centre, said that what was held in Bulgaria was an anti-party referendum rather than political elections. Mrs. Poptodorova ran for parliament on a BSP ticket and lost to a SDS opponent in a single-member constituency.

Mr. Dimiter Yonchev sees no reasons why the BSP should not cooperate with the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, as the movement exists within the law, but it would be more appropriate to call this contacts rather than cooperation.

SDS 'Firmly Rejects' Coalition

AU1906171990 Sofia BTA in English 1647 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Opposition Firmly Rejects Any Coalition With BSP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) firmly refuses to enter a coalition government with the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], SDS Spokesman Georgi Spasov told today a BTA reporter during the SDS Coordination Council session break.

At a press conference after the first round of the elections Dr Zhelyu Zhelev expressed the opinion about a government of experts, Spasov went on. But that held only true if none of the major political forces managed to gather the needed votes for an independent government.

After the second round, however, it became clear that the BSP has a majority of votes and the complete right as well as the obligation, Spasov said, to compose the government.

According to him the Socialists' proposals for a wide coalition government which they have already made several times are only their move to deprive Bulgaria of a real opposition. This government will pursue a certain program and that will be the BSP program which is incompatible with ours, the SDS spokesman said. The Socialists back the state property while according to the opposition the state property is the bastion of totalitarism.

The BSP can blame us that we refuse to take responsibility, Spasov went on to say. We have no debts to the past and we can only assume responsibility to the future with our own program, was his firm stand.

Spasov stressed as another argument for SDS unwillingness to enter in a coalition with the BSP the desire not to stand against its electors: more than 3 million people cast their votes against Communism. The BSP became the party of the majority in Parliament but it is the party of the minority in society, he said.

Spasov also rejected the possibility of SDS participation in a caretaker government or in a government of experts as "this is also a kind of a coalition." Asked whether a SDS member would accept a possible invitation to participate in a single-party government of the Socialists, Spasov said that nobody of the opposition would agree to become a BSP puppet.

The SDS sees its future role as a constructive opposition in Parliament. "Constructive, however does not mean that we will be clapping hands but that we will criticize," Spasov said.

At today's session the SDS Coordination Council discussed its future structure. Its mandate is already expiring. Next week a new leadership will probably be elected.

Opposition's Attitude Viewed

AU1906144390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Jun 90 p 5

[Orlin Pandov article dated 13 June: "From Alice in Wonderland to the Looking Glass World"]

[Text] We know the saying about Jupiter, who shows the degree of his wrath by his fulminations. We cannot help remembering this direct connection when we observe such emotions in our own failed "Jupiters." Their dejection is understandable, and one can even feel sympathy with them, for is it easy to have imagined oneself at the top, to have expected at any moment the absolute freedom which would have enabled them to redeem themselves from the position of being renegades, only to have one's illusions shattered?

This, it appears, is the most important reason for Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's refusal to be "the first to congratulate" those who won the most votes. He had not doubted the Blues' victory, but when he failed to achieve his goal of a "total numerical superiority," "the formation of a powerful faction to exert fearful pressure" must remain a task to be defined later. Immediately following the unfavorable forecasts of the election result, from the SDS viewpoint, had been announced, the accusations of manipulations and falsifications came pouring in. The accusations remain unproved, but the whole affair is extremely dubious, it is as if the foreign observers, specialists, and journalists did not exist for the SDS leadership. The former are all of the firm opinion that the elections were fair and correct.

On the other hand, the high interest in the subject of "manipulation" once again confirms that in this sinful world everyone judges according to his own conduct.

In Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's declaration, which was broadcast by the television election studio on 13 June, charges were made of "the total manipulation" of all classes of voters. Yet, surely, pluralism is confirmed by the considerable number of seats which the opposition won? This means that the claims are merely an expression of an unhealthy partiality. How otherwise can one explain the efforts to incite civil disobedience under the pretext that the final results were being delayed? On 13 June, spokesman A. Agov announced emphatically that the vote counting had already been completed in Czechoslovakia. So blinded were they by their feelings of offense that they simply did not want to take account of the fact that the elections were held there a day earlier. Furthermore, in Bulgaria we also had to summarize the results of the single-mandate elections, whereas in Czechoslovakia they only had to assess voting by the proportional system. In such a case, our vote-calculating teams, who issued the results within the shortest possible time, would not have had to work so long to prepare for a second round of elections by the majority system.

We also differ from Czechoslovakia in another respect. There, the predictions of INFAS were not disputed. For Vaclav Havel, the sociological study completed by this institution, interested only in confirming its competence, was quite enough for him to begin to make responsible decisions. In Bulgaria, however, the predictions only enraged the would-be leaders, and drove them toward irresponsible acts of incitement, creating tension around the work of the commission, and among society as a whole. Only on the third day did Dr. Zhelev take it into his head to distance himself from the unrest, limiting his furious sympathizers to outbursts of meekness and adoration, and putting personal efforts into cleaning the disks.

Let us recall the words of congratulations spoken to the winner of the last U.S. presidential elections. Michael Dukakis told George Bush that he and his supporters would contribute to the general well-being as a constructive opposition. Alas, so far, we only see the restorations of the Stalinist myths of the Pavlik Morozov type, with the son confronting the father. Yet did not many of the intellectuals who joined the SDS fight against the creation of this myth?

I therefore will remind myself that it is not the "image of the enemy" which will help to solve our national problems, and that the automatic confrontation of colors and percentages will not lead us out of the grave crisis, but will only strengthen the authority of the two opposing nomenklaturas.

Mladenov Praises Outcome

AU1906182390 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)—The true winner of the elections for a Grand National Assembly in Bulgaria are democracy and the Bulgarian people, Bulgaria's president stated today. On accepting the documents with the final election results from the Central Electoral Commission, Mr. Petur Mladenov said that the Bulgarian people comes out of the elections more wise politically, after decades-long struggles and internecine wars.

"As it is with all elections, the results reflect a definite distribution of social and political preferences in society. But those who seek to find winners and losers behind the figures would make a mistake," the Bulgarian state leader underlined.

First of all the people chose civic peace and renewal, Mr. Mladenov pointed out, adding that this estimation coincides with the conclusions made by the numerous foreign guests who were present at Bulgaria's first examination in democracy.

The president paid attention to his personal committment with regard to clarifying the breaches during the elections which, however, cannot cast a shade on the fact that they were fairly and justly held. In this connection stress was laid on the credit that should be given to the voters, the political parties and movements and, to a great extent, to the Central Electoral Commission.

Dwelling on the necessity to establish and strengthen new democratic institutions in the country, Mr. Petur Mladenov declared his intention to convene the Grand National Assembly to its first session within the law-prescribed time limit (one month). He said that the country needs a strong, efficient and highly competent government that would enjoy the confidence of the whole people.

All parties, groups and movements and all Bulgarian subjects were called on to leave their differences in the background for the sake of their motherland's welfare.

The elections put an end to totalitarianism in Bulgaria, Prof. Zhivko Stalev, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, said on delivering the election documents to the president. He said that this event is not a victory of one party over another, but a peak of democracy in the country.

Prof. Stalev spoke about the numerous problems of normative and organizational-technical nature which the Commission solved during the preparation for the elections. He pointed out the neutrality and the above-party position of the Commission when it made its decisions, despite its multi-party composition.

The chairman of the Central Electoral Commission mentioned the numerous compaints and field reports about violations during the elections and said that they would be studied by the Grand National Assembly which is the only competent body to pass judgement on them.

'Out-of-Parliament Parties' Meet

AU1906191490 Sofia BTA in English 1813 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)—The representatives of twenty parties, which failed to overcome the four-percent barrier and stayed out of parliament after the elections, met here today at the initiative of the Republican Party.

The Chairman of the Republicans, Prof. Aleksandur Popov, proposed cooperation to ensure the participation of the out-of-parliament parties in a broad-based coalition government which is considered to be the only alternative for overcoming the crisis and solving Bulgaria's national problems.

Opinions were exchanged on the lines along which the out-of-parliament parties should work for entering the coalition cabinet.

The way in which the parliamentary elections were held was criticized and some of the participants questioned the legitimacy of the Grand National Assembly. This was the reason for which the representatives of the Democratic Constitutional Party, uniting the supporters of a monarchy in Bulgaria, left the meeting by saying that they "do not want to contribute to the legalization of an unlawful act".

The representatives of the Social Democratic Party (Non-Marxists), chaired by Yanko Yankov who was returned to the Grand National Assembly, also left the meeting. They explained they did not want to sit at a table together with the "Communist creations" who attended the meeting.

BZNS Change of Allegiance Viewed

AU1906135690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Jun 90 p 5

[Dimitur Delyiski commentary: "Sailing Under Political Winds"]

[Text] It is difficult to accept the idea that yesterday's appeal by the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] is an unexpected metamorphosis. It is quite appropriate to assume that this change of mind was a result of the unsuccessful performance of the party's candidates in the recent democratic elections. The development of this event goes back even further. During the election campaign the zigzag tactics of the party's platform became evident. The principles on agrarian policy were quite foggy. The BZNS mixed up two extremes which excluded each other—from the request for total private ownership of the land (in accordance with the Union of Democratic Forces platform) through a declaration that the land should belong to those who cultivate it (in accordance with the Bulgarian Socialist Party's platform) to half-hearted assurances in support of the cooperative system. Evidently, the BZNS leaders realized as early as during the election campaign that the total restitution of the land to its all but unknown owners would hardly evoke a positive response from our contemporary farmers.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] was not surprised in the least by the BZNS' action. We heard, on several occasions, how its representatives confirmed their intention of "not joining any two-party coalion with the BSP." What is to be done? The BSP has never shunned its responsibility for the past, it assumed the responsibility for the present fate of the nation, and as one of my colleagues very appropriately remarked "it formed a government of self-sacrifice." Others were afraid of their historical responsibility and declared themselves to be "an independent opposition party." Independence is a very nice thing, it may stimulate complacency, but it can also hurt you, and even if you should not be hurt, it may still affect your supporters and fellow travellers, especially when you divide them into those who will vote according to their conscience, and those who will not, meaning that the others have no conscience.

Postelection Protests, Student Strikes Continue

Rectors' Statement

AU1906152890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Excerpts] On 19 June at Sofia's Karl Marx Higher Economic Institute, the rectors and representatives of the administrations of 26 establishments of higher education met to form a Rectors' Council. Academician Nikola Popov, rector of Sofia University, was elected chairman of the Rectors' Council. [passage omitted]

The Rectors' Council adopted a statement on the situation in the Bulgarian establishments of higher education. The statement was read by Academician Nikola Popov, chairman of the council:

[Begin Popov recording] At its 19 June meeting the Council of the Rectors of the Bulgarian establishments of higher education discussed with concern and alarm the results of the occupying strikes at Sofia's St. Kliment Okhridski, Veliko Turnovo's Sts. Kiril and Metodi Universities, and Sofia's Krustyu Sarafov Higher Theater Art Institute.

The Rectors' Council supported the students' demand, that the Central Election Commission publish all violations committed during the elections. After investigating those violations the people responsible for them must be punished by the authorities.

At the same time we would like to draw attention to the fact that the Law on the Academic Autonomy of the Establishments of Higher Education, which was greeted with satisfaction and total support by the academic community and the students, prohibits any political activity on the premises of the establishments of higher education. Furthermore, the roundtable has agreed to prevent political activity that hinders normal life at the economic and cultural establishments.

The occupying strikers inflict great damage on the various establishments of higher education. Practically all of their educational, scientific, and international activity has been paralyzed. The entrance examination campaign could fail, and thus affect more than 100,000 Bulgarian families.

We demand that the Federation of the Independent Student Associations find such a form of presenting the students' demands that will not violate the Law on the Academic Autonomy of the Establishments of Higher Education and will nor hinder normal work at the establishments of higher education.

We appeal to the political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly and the competent state organs to cooperate in resolving the conflict, which creates confrontation between groups of students and the lecturers, increases polarization in society, and inflicts irreparable damage on the educational system and the academic spirit, which we all need during this crucial time. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Support Students, Disapprove of Strike

AU1906183790 Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Rectors of Occupied Institutes Support Students' Demands But Disapprove of Strikes"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)—The occupational strikes are going on in four higher education institutes. At the initiative of the Rector of the University of Sofia, Academician Nikola Popov, today Mr. Zhivko Stalev, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, had a meeting with representatives of the strike committee of Sofia University and promised to render assistance for the establishment of contacts between the political forces represented at the Grand National Assembly and the students.

The Council of the Rectors of Higher Education Institutes set up this morning, approved an address to the strikers in which they back up the demands of the students who insist that the Central Electoral Commission should make public all violations of the Election Law and that after being studied the violations should be sanctioned by the competent authorities. At the same time the Council of Rectors points out that the occupational strikes cause a great damage to the higher education establishments concerned and insists before the Federation of Independent Student Societies to find other forms of protest which would not hamper the normal work at the institutes.

According to the deputy rector of the University of Sofia, Mr. Lyubomir Lilov, the strike in the central building of the University could grow into a national problem, because it would hinder the campaign for enrolling candidate students. Negotiations are underway between the Rectorate and the strikers for finding a compromising solution to the problem.

Today the students who are on strike threatened that if their demand for the resignation of Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Committee for Television, is not met with by June 21, they would call on all students in the country to go on strike.

Shumen Protests Against MRF Deputies

AU1906190890 Sofia BTA in English 1808 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Disagreement With Presence of MPs Representing the Movement for Rights and Freedoms"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)—In the town of Shumen (northeast Bulgaria) the local Committee for the Protection of National Interests and the Fatherland Party came out with declarations addressed to Bulgaria's president in which they express their disagreement with the presence of national representatives of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms at the Grand National Assembly. The latter are accused of unlawful activity in the past. The two declarations are approved by more than 5,000 people who confirmed it by putting down their names and signatures.

Public Dissent Criticized

AU1906183090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Jun 90 pp 1,3

[Colonel Boris Khristov article: "The Examination in Democracy Continues"]

[Excerpts] In all likelihood, the testing period for the Bulgarians experience with democracy will continue. The people will probably take the examinations over and over until finally they achieve the necessary marks indicating true maturity. This is both normal and abnormal. Why?

It is normal because of the fact that democracy is exceptionally complex, and therefore it is difficult to master the material. One proof of this is that more than seven months have elapsed since 10 November 1989, yet we have still not assimilated the alphabet of democracy. When will we master its basic lessons? [passage omitted]

Thus, on 10 June we Bulgarians firmly and finally opened the door to the democracy for which we thirsted so much. The elections were honest and free! This is acknowledged by the leaders of the country's main political forces, and the same opinion is shared by the numerous foreign visitors whom it would be difficult to describe as sympathizers of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. They gave us a marvelous lesson in democracy. However, when will we learn it, and when will we call things by their real names? Surely this is one of the essential attributes of democracy, is it not?

We are all under strain. We all expected to learn the final results of the first round of the elections for the Grand National Assembly at the earliest possible moment. It is true that the work of processing the data went slowly. However, why do we not want to comprehend the truth about the essence of this process? We chose a complex, but safe system of voting. We have no experience in holding honest and free elections. It is natural for there to be omissions and shortcomings in the organization of this complex work. However, surely all the political forces give a vote of confidence to the Central Electoral Commission and want it to provide accurate final results? We all want full and objective information concerning every report of possible election violations. However, surely careful, lengthy, and competent checks are essential for this purpose? Why do we not want to comprehend this simple truth? Indeed, any inaccuracy might lead to an escalation of the tension in the country. Or should we, without examination and proof, announce as true only that which certain people want, people who acknowledge no other truth than their own and accept no other arguments apart from their own, even if they may be false. What have such demands to do with democracy?

Certain sensitive points have appeared in the capital and individual settlements in the country. In this tense situation, let us not allow joy or disappointment to make us thoughtless. Let us calmly look into the reasons for the development of one or another process, and prove by our behavior that we are a civilized people, as we did on 10 June, because Bulgaria does not need alienation, hatred, and division, but consolidation of our national energy in the struggle to emerge from this deep crisis. Even our most fervent well-wisher will not manage to drag us out of the evil pit unless we help ourselves. Many difficult trials await us farther up this road. We will pass these trials successfully only if we display common sense, willpower, and effective labor strategies.

Let us guard against provocateurs!

Through our wisdom and civilized behavior on 17 June, let us open wide the door to the democratization of our society. We want this, so do our children and grandchildren, and Bulgaria wants this too. The examination in democracy continues, and we will obtain our graduate diploma only along the path of national unity.

Editorial Discusses Initial Election Process

AU1906140590 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Jun 90 p 1

[Editorial by chief editor Damyan Obreshkov: "The People's Lesson"]

[Text] Bulgaria is in the midst of a supreme test.

Election day—10 June—proceeded in an unexpectedly peaceful manner. Not one serious incident was observed throughout the entire country. Millions of voters manifested their sense of responsibility for their civic duty and their civil rights. All foreign guests and journalists emphasized this fact which is of exceptional importance for democratic elections. Professor Zhivkov Stalev, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission [CEC], even stated that he is proud of the political tolerance which was demonstrated.

The results of the elections, although not final, are show unequivocally—at least for the time being—that Bulgaria's present and near future should rely on a coalition government, that the present situation requires an atmosphere of calming down political passions and directing the nation's energies into the channels of economic achievements.

However, it almost seems that the lesson which the people taught the politicians on Sunday [10 June] was not properly understood. The results and the fairness of the elections is being contested under various forms. The atmosphere is becoming tense and the danger that public order might be disrupted with unpredictable consequences is emerging.

The most important question today is asking how we intend to build up our future Bulgarian democracy. Should we unleash the fire of national confrontation, which would be to the detriment of Bulgaria as a whole and not of one party or another? Should we jump at each other's throats to prove that we are right in the streets, instead of doing so in parliament?

Violations, omissions, and discrimination have evidently occurred during the otherwise peaceful elections. Nevertheless, those who are questioning the entire election for the sake of single violations, and are trying to subject our country to new national self-tortures and perhaps even to a self-inflicted, pogrom are assuming a fatal responsibility. Last but not least, is it so difficult to trust the CEC, which, for the time being, is the only institution authorized and entitled to make pronouncements on the elections? All tips and warnings which were submitted on election day and in the hours following the elections were verified by the Commission. Or does the side which considers itself discriminated against really not trust its own representatives in the Commission?

Would it not be much wiser for everyone to examine the election results through the prism of his own behavior and see a reflection of his own actions in these results? Or are we not aware that a possible refusal to recognize or a possible cancellation of the elections would prevent the people from voting for those who are exercising pressure?

We can import foreign capital, we can bring in foreign specialists, and we can associate with foreign companies. However, from where should we import common sense, the common sense which is required for the survival of our nation today, the common sense of placing national interests above all other things? From where should we import this common sense?

The people already voted once and are still expected to complete the elections of their Grand National Assembly. Let them accomplish the deed they began on 10 June with the same calm and sense of responsibility. In the opposite case we would be incapable of building our democracy and our free society.

1st Round SDS Election Victory in Sofia Noted

AU1906171490 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 13 Jun 90 page no. unavailable

[Surnitsa Karamikhova report: "The False Colossus"]

[Text] Already at the first round of elections, two leading ideologists of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]—Stefan Prodev and Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov convincingly collapsed. Aleksandur Karakachanov won in the 180th Sofia Serdika constituency, and Ventseslav Dimitrov, candidate of economy, won in the 184th Sofia Lozenets constituency. Each of the two candidates of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] received about 7,000 votes more than their socialist competitors. More than 55 percent of the voters showed their confidence in the two SDS candidates.

Yesterday [12 June], in the presence of representatives of all political forces in Lozenets, Ventseslav Dimitrov was officially handed the certificate of National Assembly member. Covered with flowers, he said: "In our district there is a strong nomenklatura and apartment blocs of employees of the Safety and Protection Administration and active fighters against fascism and capitalism. However it turned out that the people's culture is a much more important factor. It is interesting, how many of them voted with the small blue ballot [the SDS ballot] instead of with the big red one [the BSP ballot]. Now I feel that not just the majority, but all people in Lozenets are behind me."

Commentary on Prospects Following CSSR Elections

AU1906163590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Jun 90 p 3

[Prague correspondent Todor Koruev commentary: "And Now They Are Heading for a Coalition"]

[Excerpts] Prague, 11 June—The first official election results show that the seats in the two chambers of the Federal Assembly, which amount to a total of 300, will be divided between eight different parties and movements in Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

The elections mark the end of the "velvet revolution" and the beginning of the country's democratic development. There is much truth in the comments by some Western colleagues who defined the great election victory of Civic Forum and "Public Against Violence" as a personal success for Vaclav Havel and Dubcek, as a victory of the government based on national consensus and of the new political orientation. Civic Forum with its Slovak partner, the "Public Against Violence," not only relied on its glory from the November revolution, but was the only force with clearly defined objectives, based on the strength of a ruling party. One more fact should be added to all this: Civic Forum relied heavily upon strong personalities.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] won more votes than was expected. Milos Zeman, Civic Forum's forecaster, did not give it more than five to seven percent. It turned out that the Communist Party was supported by nearly 1 million people in Bohemia and by over 400,000 people in Slovakia. As a result of all this, the CPCZ not only did not disappear from the political scene, as its opponents—who did not abstain from any manipulations used to fan the public's anticommunist feelings—had hoped, but it now has the chance of coming out of the isolation in which it was placed and of playing the role of an active political force.

Despite the fact that some things have not been clarified in connection with the results of the parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia, a coalition is already being discussed. Only one thing is clear: For the first time in the postwar period, there will be no Communists in the government. [passage omitted]

British Businessmen Visit, Seek Cooperation

AU1906202190 Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 19 Jun 90

["British Businessmen Seek Cooperation With Bulgarian Partners"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)—A group of British businessmen is paying a visit to this country to study the possibilities of making investments in industry and setting up new productions.

Today the minister of industry and technology, Mr. Krustyu Stanilov, had a meeting with the leaders of the group Mr. Jacque Delal, chairman of Alide [as received] Commercial Exporters Ltd. and president of the foundation under the same name, and Mr. Eddy Ishague, president of the European Investments and Development Company for Industrial Investments and Development and chairman of the Business Against Narcotics Organization. The guests expressed their readiness for the setting up of a commercial bank.

Possible Government Coalitions Discussed

AU1906115690 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Jun 90 pp 1, 8

[CTK Director Petr Uhl article: "Political Stage on the Move"]

[Text] Prague—The free elections gave an answer as to which main political forces will be represented at the next Federal Assembly and in the National Councils. Now the question arises of their coalition affiliation.

All reflections must necessarily be based on two fundamental premises: the close parliamentary cooperation of the Civic Forum with the Public Against Violence movement, and the isolation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The situation in the Czech National Council, where even now the Civic Forum has the three-fifths qualified majority necessary for approval of constitutional laws (it is probable that this procedural rule will be adopted in connection with the drafting of the Constitution of the Czech Republic), is apparently the most lucid and also the most stable one. Nevertheless, it can be expected that a coalition government will be formed in the Czech Republic. The Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) should have a place there. Neither can one rule out the participation of both Christian parties, but the small number of seats obtained by the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) as part of the Christian and Democratic Union (KDU) is a problem on one side, and, on the other side is the current crisis in the leadership of another member of the Christian and Democratic Union, the Czechoslovak People's Party.

Immediately after the elections, the Public Against Violence movement, the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), and the Democratic Party (DS) announced their joint government coalition in Slovakia with a qualified majority in the Slovak National Council. This implies that the new Slovak Government bypasses not only the Slovak Communist Party, but also the Slovak National Party (SNS). If the coalition Public Against Violence movement/Christian Democratic Movement/Democratic Party were supported also by the Coexistence movement, which entered an electoral alliance with the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH), it would positively influence the situation in the Slovak part of the Federal Assembly Chamber of Nations.

The Civic Forum/Public Against Violence movement has the required three-fifths majority (more than 100 seats of the 150) in the People's Chamber. The situation still remains open in the Chamber of Nations, which is divided into the Czech and Slovak parts so as to prevent majorization during voting. While in the Czech part the Civic Forum has more than three-fifths of seats and thereby the power of decision, in the Slovak part the 46-seat majority has not been won by any of the parties. There are two possible alternatives depending on the attitude of the Christian Democratic Movement: either the Christian Democratic Movement will join with the Public Against Violence movement (this coalition would have 49 seats), or the Christian Democratic Movement will apply the policy of opposition or obstruction toward the Public Against Violence movement. This would mean that a majority could only be achieved with the aid of the communist deputies and of the deputies of the group Coexistence/Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement—even if one assumes that neither the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia nor the Coexistence/Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement will be represented in the Federal Government (the participation of the Coexistence/Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement in the Federal Government is problematic in view of the small number of votes received).

Thus far, the Christian Democratic Movement expressed the standpoint that it is not interested in representation in the Federal Government but that it wishes to support it on a case-by-case basis. This, however, would form a probable source of instability. These concerns would disappear if the Christian Democratic Movement accepted participation in the Federal Government, thus accepting its share of responsibility for this government. Of course, the eventual coalition formed in the Chamber of Nations would be valid for the People's Chamber as well.

In consideration of the possible coalitions, one must also take into account the fact that while the deputies of the traditional parties will apparently vote in unison, in the case of the new movements, a relatively wide spectrum of views must be expected. It can happen that deputies representing one of the movements will be at variance in voting.

Moravian Party 'Not Surprised' by Voting Results

LD1906172790 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 19 Jun (CTK)—Representatives of the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia said at a press conference at Olomouc, north Moravia, today that unlike others the party was not surprised by the results of the June 8-9 parliamentary elections, but on the contrary they expected them to be 10-15 per cent better.

The movement won 10.03 per cent of votes for the Czech National Council (top legislative body of the Czech Republic) becoming the third strongest political force in the Czech lands, and 7.89 per cent of votes for the House of the People of the Federal Assembly and 9.10 per cent of votes for the House of Nations. It will thus have 16 seats on the 300-member Federal Parliament.

Journalists were told that the movement has about 260,000 members not including collective membership of villages and towns.

The journalists were also told that the Movement will not be in essential opposition to anybody and will not form any coalition with anybody. It will support all democratic parties and movements interested in solving the questions of Moravia and Silesia (which seek land set-up for their territories within the Czechoslovak Federation).

Agreement Reached on Slovak Government Coalition

AU1906111590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Jun 90 p 2

[CTK report on statement by the Public Against Violence Movement, the Christian Democratic Movement, and the Democratic Party; place and date not given: "They Will Form a Coalition"]

[Text] Bratislava—Representatives of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN], the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], and the Democratic Party asked for the publication of this statement:

The representatives of the VPN, the KDH, and the Democratic Party met on 10 June 1990 and assessed the preliminary election results. They determined the elections to have been free and democratic and they discussed further postelection political cooperation. They confirmed their acceptance of the election results which they understand as an authorization by the voters to collaborate in dealing with the future tasks of the Slovak Republic and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. The participating parties expressed in principle their readiness to jointly form a coalition government of the Slovak Republic.
For the VPN movement: Fedor Gal, Jan Langos
For the KDH: Jan Carnogursky, Jan Klepac
For the Democratic Party: Jozef Dubnicek, Peter Mattos

Slovak National Party Rallies in Bratislava

LD1906191990 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] At today's meeting of the Slovak National Party [Slovenska narodna strana] on Hviezdoslav Square in Bratislava, there was talk of abolishing the central administration of Slovakia from Prague, and transferring jurisdiction to the Slovak Government. Singer Stanislav Panis criticized Czechoslovak Television and Radio, which, in his words, are still under totalitarian rule. Party Chairman Vitazoslav Moric said that the time for strong words ended with the elections and that the time for deeds is here. There was also interesting information about the screening of their deputies, who came out without a single stain. The Slovak National Party does not want to discriminate against anyone because of their nationality or religious beliefs. Its main aims are an independent Slovakia and the legalization of the Slovak language as the only official language on the whole of its territory.

Slovak Party Seeks Decision on Official Language

LD1906204190 Prague CTK in English 2003 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava, 19 Jun (CTK)—Chairman of the Slovak National Party Vitazoslav Moric told a meeting of his party here today that "We are a political party which won the biggest number of votes (in the June 8-9 parliamentary elections). Before us there are only two movements."

The Slovak National Party placed third after the Public Against Violence Political Movement and the Christian Democratic Movement.

Vitazoslav Moric said that the party's priority task in the days ahead is the assertion of the Slovak language as a state official one in order to slow down the process of losing the consciousness of national identity among the Slovaks living in the south, along the Hungarian border.

Any irredentist efforts veiled by alleged attempts to develop Hungarian nationality education will encounter hard resistance from the Slovak National Party, its chairman stressed.

Another member of the party's leadership Marian Andel rejected labelling the party's followers as fascists, clerocommunists and secret police agents.

Organizers estimate that about 5,000 people took part in the meeting, one thousand of whom were merely passive onlookers.

Civic Forum Statement on 'Screening' Process

LD1906154890 Prague CTK in English 1453 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 19 Jun (CTK)—The Civic Forum political movement today conveyed a statement to CTK in which it backed the words of Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml at a press conference on June 9 that he who is marked in screening as a secret collaborationist of the former secret police (STBN) really collaborated.

The statement described as socially irresponsible the challenging of positive and entirely conclusive evidence and the intentional obscuring of the screening procedure.

The Civic Forum (CF) said that according to the results of the vetting received from Federal Interior Minister Richard Sacher at the request of the CF coordinating centre and all CF candidates for parliamentary seats, no deputy elected on June 8-9 to the Federal Assembly and Czech National Council for the Civic Forum was a former secret STB collaborationist.

The statement said that in view of the often extreme social pressures exerted on a substantial part of Czechoslovak citizens under the former communist regime (toppled in the November 1989 velvet revolution), the public exposure of all the 140,000 STB collaborationists would be socially and humanly unsuitable. Instead, democratic means should be applied to change the whole social climate, wholeheartedly pardon former wrongs and learn to live in mutually decent human relations. On the other hand, however, it is necessary to ensure complete integrity of all citizens who would want to be active in important posts of state power and adminstration. To this end, an independent and objective mechanism allowing their vetting before they take up these posts must be created.

It is in the interest of the whole society including former secret police collaborationists that no one be able to blackmail them and thus harm the society, and that the power of the former structures of the Interior Ministry be definitively broken and links of these structures with the Soviet KGB force cancelled, the Civic Forum statement said.

That is why the Civic Forum hailed Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's move when he discretely called at the beginning of June, i.e. before the parliamentary elections, on Josef Bartoncik to give up his public posts and candidature for a Federal Assembly deputy. However, he did not live up to his promise, and instead indirectly accused the president of lying. His public exposure as a secret STB collaborationist was in this situation morally and socially necessary, the Civic Forum statement said and welcomed the course of action followed by the Czech Prosecutor General's Office and the Federal Assembly which should put an end to this disgusting affair, the statement said.

It recalled that a group of historians has proposed that honorary juries attached to the Federal Assembly be set up to solve the question of vetting candidates for important state and social posts and of ensuring the civic rights of former STB collaborationists.

"We are convinced that we will jointly find a way out from this seeming dilemma between the moral requirement for the full knowledge of our recent past, the requirement for life in truth, and the no less moral and socially necessary protection of the human rights of all citizens of this country," the Civic Forum statement stressed.

Socialist Party's Publishing System Reevaluated

LD1906184690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [Ceskoslovenska strana socialisticka] made a decision yesterday concerning important personnel changes in the Melantrich publishing house. CTK has asked Stanislav Kliment, the party's central secretary, to clarify the situation. He said that yesterday's session considered, among other things, the situation that has arisen through the publication of standpoints in SVOBODNE SLOVO which, according to the Presidium, damage the party's standing in the eyes of the public and restrict opportunities for its political activity, mainly in connection with the intended formation of coalition cooperation. Stanislav Kliment also said that the decisions concerning personnel issues were legitimiate from the viewpoint of the charter of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and from the viewpoint of the status of the Melantrich publishing house.

Milan Nevole, who was recalled by the Presidium of the party's Central Committee from his post as Melantrich director, also expressed his view of the situation. He noted, among other things, that Jiri Vyvadil, the party's chairman, and Rudolf Kutnar, the newly designated director of Melantrich, came to the premises of the publishing house this morning in order to take over the publishing house. However, this did not happen. The whole matter should be discussed tomorrow by the session of the party's Central Committee. It will, however, also depend on the Melantrich employees' position. If one-tenth of them favor my resignation, then I will resign, said Milan Nevole. He said he did not think that a new National Socialist Party [strana harodne socialisticka] should come into existence, but that it should renew itself within the existing Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

Prague Socialists Demand Chairman's Resignation

LD1906201990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] At the close of the meeting of the Prague members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [Ceskoslovenska strana socialisticka], the absolute majority of those present adopted a resolution demanding the resignation of the chairman of the party, Jiri Vyvadil, the Presidium, and the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. The document also demands that a congress of the party be called with newly elected delegates at the earliest suitable date, the creation of a five-to-seven-member directorate entrusted with the preparation for municipal elections, and the preparation for the congress.

In the resolution, the Prague-wide meeting of members also demands the screening of all officials of the party to the district level, a change in the name of the party to Czechoslovak National Socialist Party [Ceskoslovenska strana narodne socialni], and the abolishing of the decision to recall the director of Melantrich [publishing house] and the editor in chief of SVOBODNE SLOVO from their posts.

Czech National Council To Meet 26 Jun

LD1806172590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] At its session today, the Czech National Council Presidium dealt with the Czech Government's plan to adopt bills on general administration, on territorial state administration, and on elections—according to which the November local elections will no longer be to national committees, but to organs of self- administration and communities. The Presidium therefore has decided to submit to the Federal Assembly a proposal for the change of the Czechoslovak Constitution and the constitutional bill on the Czechoslovak federation.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart and Czech National Council Chairman Jaroslav Safarik then expressed their appreciation for the cooperation between the government and the council.

At the end of the session, the Czech National Council Presidium convened a session of the Czech National Council for 26 June and its consitutent session on the same day.

Interior Minister Sacher on Talks With Calfa

LD1906091390 Prague CTK in English 0734 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 19 Jun (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher told today's youth daily MLADA FRONTA that he and the republic's interior ministers consider it necessary for the government to clearly say that those persons, who had already been described as secret police agents but which cannot be proved, had been publicly cleared, as quite innocent people could have been accused.

Asked by the daily how this act will help citizens who had already been persecuted for alleged cooperation with the State Security (STB), Richard Sacher said that it is better to act now than not act at all.

The three interior ministers appeared on Czechoslovak television Saturday night [16 June] and expressed their negative stand on screening. On Monday [18 June], Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa met with Richard Sacher for talks at which Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek and Czech Prosecutor General Pavel Sychetsky were also present.

"I was told by the premier that our Saturday's statement on screening is, in his view, aimed against the government's decision. I explained to him that in no case can this be understood in this way as new facts emerged after consultations with former secret security members, for instance, that in the files, it is possible to make a secret collaborator from a victim within three seconds", Minister Sacher said.

He informed the paper of further steps on which he agreed with Marian Calfa. By Thursday [21 June], Richard Sacher will prepare materials explaining the reasons for ending the screening. Written materials, files and other documents must be considered inconclusive in deciding whether a person was or was not a secret security agent. Further continuation of the screening must be therefore considered politically and socially very dangerous, Richard Sacher said.

As regards the screening of Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee of the House of Nations of the Federal Assembly Ladislav Lis, Richard Sacher told the paper that he ordered the screening after certain mass media published reports about his alleged cooperation with the U.S. CIA agency.

Unions Reportedly Unhappy With Government Policy

LD1906133690 Prague CTK in English 1254 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Prague June 19 (CTK)—The present situation in the Czechoslovak trade unions is characterized mainly by dissatisfaction with the way the Czechoslovak Government is working out the economic and social laws. So far, the Czechoslovak trade unionists have had most objections to the strike bill, describing it as discriminating and nondemocratic.

The trade unions blame the government for not cooperating with their experts in drawing new economic and social laws. On the contrary, the government criticizes the trade unions that they allegedly have a new leadership but, as regards its rank and file members, the situation is not stabilized so allegedly it does not represent anybody.

Czechoslovakia, with a population of about 15.6 million (at the end of 1989), has eight million trade unionists. They are associated in the present two trade union confederations, the biggest—the "Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions" and the "Confederation of Art and Culture". Both confederations came into being at the start of March 1990, and describe themselves as being nonpolitical and independent of state bodies and public organizations. [passage omitted]

IUS Denies Participation in Arms Trade

LD1906164890 Prague CTK in English 1600 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 19 Jun (CTK)—The International Union of Students (IUS) resolutely rejects the indications of the Czech fortnightly REPORTER and the monthly STUDENTSKE LISTY concerning the organization's participation in the Czechoslovak arms trade, a IUS statement published here Tuesday [19 June] said.

The document also denies the existence of a IUS connection with the "University of November 17" about which former intelligence service agent Josef Frolik said it educated Soviet and Czechoslovak agents and helped them infiltrate into apparatuses of the developing countries.

"The IUS is not a school for spies or terrorists of any kind", the document pointed out, adding that the union associates student organizations representing a wide scale of political outlooks, from conservative to left-wing ones. Within the forty years of its existence the IUS made mistakes and wrong judgements mainly under the influence of cold war and authoritative totalitarian practices in Eastern Europe. From 1986, the member and non-member IUS unions (from Western Europe above all) had discussed these problems in an effort to overcome the heritage of the past and reorganize and democratize the International Union of Students", the IUS statement said.

The IUS Secretariat did not express itself on the demand of Czechoslovak students for removing the IUS headquarters from Prague. It just stated that the dialogue with the Czechoslovak student structures has now been developing in the spirit of mutual respect and understanding, and committed itself to respect Czechoslovak laws during its future activities in Czechoslovakia, just as it has done, according to the statement, since its foundation in 1946.

Journalists Protest Alleged Party Interference

LD1906212890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] The journalists association of the Czech Republic has announced through CTK that it observes with concern the attempts of some political parties and forces to limit once again the rights of a journalist to publish objective information and express personal or group views within the framework of a pluralist difference of views. The statement of the association says that once again tendencies toward establishing measures for journalists on the amount and sort of information they can publish are emerging. The association of journalists of the Czech Republic states that even the decisive political forces of our country are still not fully aware of the calling and place of the mass media in a modern democratic society, where they are not understood to be an obedient tool to represent the interests of those in power, but as fully qualified citizens and one of the guarantees for a healthy development of society.

Poll Traces Deterioration of Czech-Slovak Ties

AU1906114790 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 12 Jun 90 p 4

["(LB)"-signed report: "How Much Do We Like Each Other?"—all figures as published]

[Text] Prague—The Prague Institute for Public Opinion Research has once again (as always, on a nationwide scale) carried out a survey of Czechoslovak citizens' opinions on mutual relations and on the Moravian issue. Dr. Jan Herzmann, who is well known to television viewers and who so brilliantly delivered the election results last weekend, is the person responsible for analyzing this survey.

However, let us return to how much we like each other. The question was: What is the state of today's relations between Czechs and Slovaks, Czechs and Moravians, and Slovaks and Moravians? People were given the opportunity to evaluate relations as friendly, quite friendly, indifferent, quite unfriendly, and unfriendly. In the case of Czechs and Moravians, the answer was, on the whole, simple—81 percent evaluated relations as being friendly. Equally pleasant was the first evaluation between Slovaks and Moravians—73 percent consider relations to be friendly and 47 percent consider them to be quite friendly.

The situation between Czechs and Slovaks is rather different. A mere 39 percent evaluated mutual relations as being friendly; 30 percent speak of quite friendly relations; and 41 percent believe that they are unfriendly. At the same time, in February, 47 percent considered them to be friendly and 32 percent considered them to be unfriendly. Today the ratio is 39:41 percent! Because the objective situation has not changed, it may be said that the changes have taken place under the very strong influence of the mass information media and also under the influence of very strong and extremely dangerous points of view which, unfortunately, have become more widespread in nationality issues recently. At the same time—and this is very interesting—Czech-Slovak relations are viewed more positively in Slovakia. According to other sociodemographic indicators, students and apprentices evaluate Czech-Slovak relations most favorably. The least positive opinions regarding relations between Czechs and Slovaks were recorded in small communities with fewer than 500 inhabitants.

The status of Moravia is also being very keenly discussed among us. How does the public react? In reply to a question on whether Moravians are a separate nation or are part of the Czech nation, more than one in five (22 percent) replied that Moravians are a separate nation. However, more than 60 percent of CSFR citizens think that they belong to the Czech nation. In Moravia itself, 37 percent of respondents insist on Moravians' independence; in the Czech lands, 12 percent stated this point of view.

Press Article Triggers Official's Dismissal

AU1906115590

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 7 June on pages 1 and 7 carries a 1,000-word "hc"-signed article entitled "Signed: Huleja." The article, which is based on the testimony of six former political prisoners, deals with the "dark past" of Mirko Huleja, whom Dagmar Buresova, minister of justice of the Czech Republic, appointed to the post of chief of the Corrective Education Corps in the Czech Republic this January. The article reveals that Huleja presided over a tribunal of judges which, in 1953, passed extremely harsh sentences, including one of capital punishment, on "six members of a supposedly antistate organization from Cheb." The article quotes from the verdict, signed by Mirko Huleja, which justifies the death penalty meted out to Milos Kastak, one of the defendants, by citing the need to "eliminate the enemies of the working people." The author of the article questions the appointment of a man with such a past to the post of the "chief over all prisons on the territory of the Czech Republic," saying that this appointment only corroborates the suspicion that "the attempts at mutinies and the unrest in our prisons might be incited and nourished by a mafia."

On 8 June, on page 2, MLADA FRONTA carries a 300-word "hm"-signed article entitled "Colonel Huleja Recalled; Quick Reaction to Yesterday's MLADA FRONTA Article." The article quotes from a statement which the newspaper received from Dagmar Buresova, minister of justice of the Czech Republic, according to which Mirko Huleja was recalled from his post effective 8 June. Buresova stresses "for the sake of objectivity" that Huleja's performance as chief of the Corrective Education Corps was beyond reproach. She also justifies her decision to appoint him to the post in January by saying that she was guided by her consideration of Huleja's "positive activity during the period of normalization when he worked as a defense attorney."

New 'Self-Administration' Structures Considered

AU1506063090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jun 90 p 5

[CTK report: "The Czech Government Proposes: Cancel Regions—Reorganize Districts"]

[Text] Prague—At its Wednesday [6 June] meeting, the Czech Republic Government declared that it considers the abolishment of the Czech Land and the Moravian-Silesian Land on 1 January 1949 and the establishment of a new territorial and administrative structure an unjust act which originated from totalitarian, bureaucratic, and centralist practices. Therefore, the government expresses its firm opinion that the constitutional organization of the republic—which will be established by a freely elected legislative organ—will correct this injustice.

Furthermore, the government recommended abolishing the system of National Committees and to replace it by the self-administration of cities and communities. It is anticipated that the regional national committees will be abolished as of 1 January 1991. District committees will remain for a temporary period. After the self-administration of cities and communities is established, the executive power of the district national committees will cease to exist and will start operating as state administration bodies.

Large Gold Deposit To Be Used Commercially

AU2006143890

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 15 June on page 7 carries an undated 450-word CTK interview with Zdenek Pletanka, an official of the Pribram Ore Mines company, entitled "We Have Gold Reserves!" The interview deals with the prospects of gold mining in Mokrsko, Central Bohemia. According to Pletanka, the Mokrsko deposit "represents the largest known accummulation of gold in Central Europe." Although the geological research of the deposit is yet to be completed, it is already known that "there are 50 tonnes of rock containing two grams of gold per tonne." The entire deposit is expected to yield between 36 and 49 tonnes of gold, which "could cover the needs of the state for at least 10 to 15 years."

Because the Pribram Ore Mines need a foreign partner to exploit the deposit, they have entered into negotiations with a number of Western companies. Offers by the Australian firms "Pennant Holding Limited," "Barrack Mines Limited," and "Gwalia," and by the U.S. "BHP Utah" company are currently under consideration. Pletanka notes that gold mining in the Mokrsko area will require the preemption of 75 hectares of agricultural land, 135 hectares of forests, and the "relocation" of the village of Mokrsko.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

***Notice to Readers:** Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

Bergmann-Pohl Speech at 1953 Memorial Ceremony

LD1706111290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0956 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Speech by People's Chamber President Sabine Bergmann-Pohl at 17 June memorial ceremony in East Berlin—recorded]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Thirty-seven years have passed since 17 June 1953, since the day on which hundreds of thousands of workers arose and protested against their government in spontaneous demonstrations. For 37 years the historic truth of this day was suppressed by those in power. We can now turn to this day for the first time in our country in freedom and truth. This is also the first time that we, as freely elected deputies, remember this event together with the deputies of the German Bundestag. [passage omitted]

Today old and new questions are posed to us. What did 17 June mean for Germans in the past? It took place here, and in our country it went into the official annals of our history books as a fascist counterrevolution, if at all.

In the Federal Republic of Germany 17 June was declared a holiday. From then on working people had a legal claim to a holiday. The politicians used it every year for a ceremonial profession of German unity.

Both sides link their own memories and experiences to 17 June. Of what can today's joint marking of the day consist? What will become of 17 June when unification is complete? [passage omitted on personal memories]

What happened then was not a popular revolution, but it was more than a workers uprising against production norms. So what was it then? Why was it mainly workers that took to the streets? What did the farmers, the middle class, the intellectuals think? These are many questions to which an answer has to be found. We want to make a start with this memorial ceremony.

A look into history also gives us an opportunity to consider whether 17 June was really only a German date, a date in the postwar history of a divided Germany. Was the call for unity at that time really as loud as reflected in many later ceremonial addresses? If not, what were the reasons? Of course the Germans in East and West felt themselves to be one people, as a people which, like any other, also wanted to live together in one state. It was no different then than today. On the contrary: In 1953 it was so natural that not even those in power at that time dared to call future unity in question. What determines the present day? Without doubt it was economic and social reasons, from which the workers were particularly suffering, which triggered off 17 June. From its very essence the rebellion was aimed at the contradictions in a state where foreign control had become reality and self-determination a lie. The hopes of many people for socialism with a human face, as it was later to be called, were at that time still fully alive. The reality, however, already looked different. [passage omitted]

The hopes of the people for freedom and self-determination remained alive in their hearts. They expressed themselves in various ways from country to country. The peoples of Eastern Europe, however, felt united from the very beginning in the goal they were striving for.

Thus 17 June 1953 is not only a German, but also a European date. Many others followed it: the Hungarian uprising of 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, the Polish Solidarnosc movement in 1980.

The desire for freedom encountered many setbacks. The year 1975 was thus of even greater significance for the people in the East but also in the whole of Europe. It became a turning point in European postwar history.

For the Helsinki final accord, which was passed then, gave more validity to universal human rights. [passage omitted]

The year 1989 opened gates that had been bolted for decades. It fulfilled the hopes for which the workers went on the street for the first time on 17 June 1953:

The hope for freedom and self-determination.

Now we Germans have the chance to round off our freedom in unity. Here, too, history points the way for us. It shows that freedom can neither be achieved nor secured through ideals alone. Therefore we wish to anchor our desire for unity in a pan-European peace order, such as is marked out in the Helsinki final accord.

Our unity is aimed against no one. It should rather also unite Europe, it should help to finally overcome the division between East and West.

European postwar history will thus end. Today we are opening a new chapter in which the outlines for the peaceful coexistence of the peoples in a common European home are already sketched out.

SPD Chairman Thierse on Unification Path

AU1906140390 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 13 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with new Social Democratic Party Chairman Wolfgang Thierse by Carola Schuetze; place and date not given: "Coalition Is a Marriage of Convenience"]

[Text] [Schuetze] Mr. Thierse, in Halle you expressed support for two goals, which will probably be difficult to achieve. I mean a second state treaty and a referendum on German unity. How do you want to try to put both into practice?

[Thierse] I think that there is concurrence, which goes beyond the Social Democratic Party [SPD], that accession in line with Article 23, which the large majority of the political forces in he GDR wants, should not be carried out unconditionally but that previously the conditions of this accessions should be negotiated and set down in talks between the FRG and the GDR. This is meant by the catchword of a second state treaty: Setting down steps, in which the process of adjustment of the legal systems between the two German states is carried out. If I say adjustment of the legal systems I mean the legal regulations which determine our everyday life. Every GDR citizen knows the differences that exist between the East and West in this respect and that will continue to exist for some time.

Second, it is also useful to agree on the following before accession: What should we do if the Basic Law is to be changed in any case. In the coalition agreements at the beginning of the government's work it was set down that we want to talk precisely about this and pursue certain goals in amending and modernizing the Basic Law, such as, for instance, putting in basic social rights as a goal of the state. This is not only a demand of the GDR's SPD. I think that there are comprehensive experiences of the GDR people that support this. There are also many forces in the FRG which say that this would be a sensible modernization of the Basic Law, and it is, after all, recommendable to agree on this modernization before one implements the accession.

Third, I think it is extremely important that the German people are involved in the constituting of this joint state to a far grater extent than it has been so far. An all-German state cannot be established simply by a treaty between governments. The people must have the opportunity to say: Yes, we want this. I think that this would be a better foundation for this common Germany. Therefore we are for a referendum on the modernization of the Basic Law.

[Schuetze] At the moment there are still two peoples whose interests are currently diverging, I think. One people, the bigger one, believes that it has to expect material losses as a result of unification, and the other one expects mainly gains....

[Thierse] I would perhaps not speak of two peoples, but I think that there are really differences in interests between the people in the FRG and those in the GDR. The GDR people want to experience an upswing because of unification. They want social safeguards against the inevitable risks of the process of unification, the risks of the very rapid transition from a centralist-planned economy to a market economy, and this costs money first of all, before there is any upswing. In view of the economic misery, into which the GDR has been led, this money must come not from itself but from the FRG. Now a majority of the FRG people are certainly interested in having unity not become so expensive and in having unity be paid not only by the little people.

Only the two Social Democratic parties are tackling this existing difference in interests. I regret that obviously it is no topic at all and completely undisputed in the policy of the two Christian Democratic Unions. Here the SPD has to act as a representative. For this it will probably be jeered.

[Schuetze] Referring to this, I would like to ask you whether the SPD's work in the government will change under your chairmanship?

[Thierse] I cannot yet say this. Of course: If one enters a coalition, one agrees to be a reliable partner. I think that this must be in policy as it is in other spheres of the life. A coalition, however, is a marriage of convenience. One joins to achieve feasible goals. In this process, there will always be controversies, different interests and different concepts of policy; above all, different proposals for solutions will clash—the more difficult the problems are and the harsher the social conflicts are which have to be settled by political actions. I think that in the autumn we will experience harsher social conflicts, and this will inevitably result in the parties showing sharper outlines. Thus their proposals for solutions will also be more distinguishable than they have been to date.

[Schuetze] How far, do you think, should Oskar Lafontaine go with his reservations against a state treaty?

[Thierse] I think that what Oskar Lafontaine does is very useful in terms of content. He is trying, together with the FRG SPD, to achieve a few things which we have not been able to achieve, because we are the smaller party; that is, additional demands concerning measures for structural adjustment in the GDR economy, in order to save a greater number of enterprises. The demand for taking environmental protection more into account is also useful, as is the demand to not simply exchange the assets of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the State Security Service. With this Oskar Lafontaine and the FRG SPD represent the interests of GDR citizens.

There is another problem in this connection: In order to achieve these goals, the SPD, which is the parliamentary opposition and thus was not involved in the negotiations, has to exert extraordinary public pressure. Public pressure has the quality of sometimes becoming independent and causing an emotional movement, which one can then perhaps no longer quite control. This is the point: I think that both Social Democratic parties should make sure—and I think that they will do this—that the mood does not turn around against unification. This would not correspond to the Social Democrats' self-image. Social Democrats are the party of German unity, and they have been this for a very long time. Oskar Lafontaine has not changed this. I am sure that the FRG SPD will approve the state treaty.

[Schuetze] The two Social Democratic parties, like other parties, too, are on the brink of merging. The SPD will then have to make the role of the opposition party compatible with the role of the coalition partner. How should this work?

[Thierse] I think that differing roles are not a real obstacle to merging. The important thing is that both parties define their interests exactly, note the concurrence of interests, and, on this basis, formulate a joint political program and elect the right candidate with this program. This will certainly work quite well, and I think that we take the definition of our own interests more seriously than other parties, which obviously see the process of unification only as an organizational process.

[Schuetze] What chances do you see for the SPD at the first all-German elections?

[Thierse] I am not a prophet. I will not comment on this.

Superpower Agreement Needed

LD1706184590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1608 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—German unification must take part in agreement with the superpowers. This was stressed by Richard Schroeder, leader of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] parliamentary group, during the debate at the People's Chamber. If unification were to "take place today, the Soviet Union would hear in the evening that it has 400,000 soldiers on territory where the Basic Law is in force." "We cannot treat the Soviet Union this way," Schroeder stressed.

The politician confirmed that the SPD was not a party trying to delay German unity; it was keeping the coalition agreement and wanted, after negotiations, to implement unification without delay in accordance with Article 23 and as a contribution to the European order of peace. Schroeder expressed his understanding that some things one prefers to have immediately. In this connection he said, however, "the good thing at the wrong time can be bad." He did not want the way to unification to become a "journey with a broken axle."

Schroeder agreed with the premier that government and parliament had the task to make themselves obsolete, "but please, after the job is done," the politician said. The so-called second state treaty must be signed and sealed before the completion of the accession, otherwise it would not be possible to solve the legal and property questions. Both governments were needed for these negotiations.

Modrow Claims Government Has 'Surrendered'

AU1906121890 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 12 Jun 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Party of Democratic Socialism Wants To Conquer the North"]

[Text] On Sunday, at the first land party congress of his party in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Hans Modrow, honorary chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], sharply criticized the GDR Government, headed by Lothar de Maiziere.

"What kind of policy is this when, during his visit to the United States, our government head refuses to meet with the ambassador of his own country, when Mr. Eppelmann holds talks with the representatives of the Warsaw Pact in Moscow and shortly after announces the discontinued membership of his Army, and when an economics minister speaks of a hot autumn, as if this had nothing to do with himself," Modrow asked, supplying the answer himself—namely, that this was not a transitory government but a government that has surrendered.

Modrow said that at the PDS land congress in Rostock there was more at stake than just joining the three bezirk organizations. It is now necessary to have a new quality in the work with the kreis and grass-roots groups, which are gradually stabilizing themselves and developing their own profiles.

The approximately 200 delegates spoke out in favor of changing their party from a typical GDR parliamentary force to an all-German one. For this purpose, contacts will be extended with the emerging PDS groups in the FRG and a discussion will also begin with the German Communist Party, the List of Greens and Alternatives, the Socialist Forum, and other left-wing forces in the West, without trying to forcefully grab their attention, however.

Therefore the proposal was supported to convene a North-German opposition conference of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lower Saxony for the coming fall.

According to Juergen Zelm, who was elected as land chairman, the PDS currently has 50,079 members in the three bezirks in the north of the GDR. According to Zelm, some 4,000 PDS deputies have to "hold their own in a difficult struggle in the local parliaments," because there are attempts to "isolate the party in society." Proof of this is the professional ban imposed on several female teachers in Rostock, and the "ideological terrorism" against professional soldiers, members of the People's Police, and customs officers, who have been recommended to leave the PDS if they do not want to lose their jobs.

Diestel Expresses Thanks for 'Terrorist' Arrests

LD1806203690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2005 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a press statement, GDR Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel expressed gratitude to all those who had contributed to the latest success in the hunt for terrorists.

The Interior Ministry statement refers to "further search successes," but no information was given on this in response to questions from ADN.

Further information is to be released at an international news conference in the Interior Ministry in Berlin at 1000 [0800 GMT]

Reports RAF Death Threats

LD1906103190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0935 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN) - The Interior Ministry receives on average five murder threats a day against leading GDR politicians, Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel told the press this morning. These "execution announcements" were all signed "RAF," the abbreviation for Red Army Faction, eight members of which, who are wanted in the FRG, have now been apprehended in the GDR.

Diestel, who had personally received a threat last Saturday when an "RAF press spokesman" phoned the Rostock office of ADN will not be intimidated in spite of certain fears. The anonymus caller had threatened that "over the next few weeks we shall liquidate people in a target-like manner."

Dietmar Schlee, chairman of the FRG interior ministry conference said this "pattern" was known from past experiernce in the FRG. "Reprisals" would have to be expected in both German states and preventive measures should be taken. The joint working group on internal security that meets in Stuttgart today should make concrete proposals for protection.

The West Berlin Interior Senator Erich Paetzold declared that in this urgent situation one could not wait for the police authority in East Berlin to be handed over from the ministry to the magistracy. Therefore, there would be an "integration on senior levels" of the police in both parts of the city while present structures would be "formally maintained."

At the news conference Dietmar Schlee, as chairman of the FRG federal interior ministers' conference, acknowledged that his colleague Diestel has taken very determined and intensive action to drain the terrorist swamp. This is "anything but drained" in the FRG, so that reprisals could as a matter of experience be expected—but now also in the GDR. A joint working group on internal security will meet in Stuttgart today and draft specific proposals. [passage omitted]

Schlee, who announced "intensified protective measures," expects the final completion of the legal steps to extradite the arrested RAF members to federal territory to take 10-14 days.

According to Diestel there are as yet no indications that the terrorists actively operated from GDR territory. However, contradictory evidence still has to be cleared up. He can neither rule out the possibility of international terrorist cooperation, possibly with terrorists in the Middle East, nor the existence of training camps in the GDR and possible "compensatory transactions."

A possible motive for the old GDR leadership taking in West German terrorists in the 1980's might be an RAF offer of: "you give us shelter and we will leave you in peace."

Bomb Attacks Threatened in Leipzig

LD2006081390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0738 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Late last night a anonymous caller said there would be several bomb attacks in Leipzig unless the detained alleged RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorists are released immediately and flown to Damascus. The call from the unknown man was received at about 2230 on the emergency line for fire service and the Red Cross, the Leipzig police told ADN today.

If the demands are not met, there would be bomb attacks on a high- rise building of the university, a disco in Petersstrasse, several residential houses, and a fast train to Rostock. The People's Police have taken the necessary measures for protection: 45 families were evacuated, two restaurants were closed, and the departure of a fast train was delayed by 30 minutes. A comprehensive investigation is in progress.

Alleged 'Terrorist' Henning Beer Arrested

LD1906091690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0835 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The alleged RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorist Henning Beer was provisionally detained on Monday evening [18 June] by a task force of the central criminal office working in collaboration with the criminal office of the Neubrandenburg area (bezirk). This was announced by GDR Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel at an international news conference in Berlin this morning, 19 June.

This increases to eight the number of alleged RAF terrorists detained on GDR territory thus far.

Henning Beer, who was born on 30 September 1958, offered no resistance when he was apprehended outside his home in Neubrandenburg at around 1950. He had lived there under the name of Dieter Lenz and had worked as an assistant metalworker. A warrant for the arrest of Beer, who had been on GDR territory since 29 July 1982, is available at the Federal Court of Justice in Karlsruhe. It is assumed that Beer was involved in a bomb attack in Ramstein in 1981.

At the news conference, the GDR interior minister outlined the circumstances under which the suspected RAF terrorist Silke Maier- Witt was apparehended yesterday. She was seized at 1420 in the pharmaceutical enterprise where she was working as the head of the information and documentation office. Maier-Witt, who is unmarried, has been living on GDR territory since 1 October 1980 and has GDR citizenship. She lived in Neubrandenburg under the name of Silvia Bayer.

Minister Diestel further reported that in the Silke Maier-Witt case, information from a high-ranking employee of the former State Security had for the first time led to arrest.

DSU Demands Markus Wolf Be Arrested

LD1506180490 Hamburg DPA in German 1635 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The People's Chamber of the German Social Union (DSU) has demanded the arrest of former head of espionage Markus Wolf for his "possible involvement in terrorist activities." There was extreme danger that Wolf would flee, according to a letter sent today from the group's deputy chairman Karsten Degner to People's Chamber President Sabine Bergmann-Pohl (Christian Democratic Union). She should make use of her right as acting head of state to instruct the attorney general.

Copies of the letter were sent to Justice Minister Kurt Wuensche (BFD) [as received] and Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (DSU). Degner assumes a "combination" of the former Ministry for State Security with the Red Army Faction (RAF). "If there is a legal process of arresting terrorist criminals in the GDR for whom there is an arrest warrant in the FRG, then it must also be possible to call to account those people responsible in the State Security Service." There is an arrest warrant for Wolf from the FRG's attorney general in Karlsruhe.

Wolf recently denied any contacts with West German terrorists. In doing so he did not, however, rule out cooperation between a department of the Stasi dealing with counter-terrorism and members of the RAF.

Wolf Not To Incriminate Former MFS Personnel

LD1906091490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2207 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Stasi intelligence apparatus did not extend to the RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorist organization. Markus Wolf, [former] Stasi head, stressed this in an interview for JUNGE WELT (Tuesday edition). Regarding West German accusations implicating him repeatedly in this matter, the former deputy Stasi chief stresses: "That is indeed strange. To my knowledge all the relevant authorities in the GDR and the FRG have at their disposal clear information on the structures and working methods of the former MfS [Ministry of State Security], which demonstrates that neither I nor the intelligence apparatus under me until 1986 had any responsibility for such matters. For this reason, there can be no shred of proof of these accusations. Statements made, for example, by the federal Prosecutor's Office or representatives of the FRG Office for the Protection of the Constitution must have some other motive."

The numerous media statements have led to a real witch-hunt; it is character assasination. "For weeks, I have been made financial offers. I have been told that by revealing my knowledge of certain persons, I can have the arrest warrant issued against me by the FRG lifted. I will do no such thing. The betrayal of people who worked with the GDR in good faith up to the dissolution of the intelligence service and entrusted the service with their safety and well-being contradicts all norms which I have and continue to support, including that of morality," Wolf told the youth paper.

He is convinced that "such revelations will not contribute to the internal law and order of a future united Germany, but to further mistrust and continual tension. In the interests of law and order and solving the problem, other paths must be sought and found. I am prepared to help in this, but not under conditions of pressure and blackmail."

Claims No Knowledge of RAF Help

AU1906111690 Hamburg BILD in German 19 Jun 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with former State Security chief Markus Wolf by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given: "Knew Nothing, Heard Nothing, Saw Nothing"]

[Text] [Brinkmann] Did you know that the Stasi state security protected Red Army Faction [RAF] terrorists in the GDR?

[Wolf] No, I did not. This is why I have just written a letter to the president of the People's Chamber.

[Brinkmann] Why did you write this letter and what did you say?

[Wolf] Mr. Walther of the German Social Union [DSU] has mentioned my name in connection with the RAF and Stasi. In this letter I declare that during my period of service neither I nor—as far as I know—any of the staffers of my office had any kind of contact with RAF people, and that I learned about the presence of such people in the GDR only from the press. In my letter I demand that Mr. Walther either disclose the source of his information or publicly retract this statement. Meanwhile, I think that such statements should even be considered under the Penal Code.

[Brinkmann] Who was responsible for the RAF in the Ministry for State Security?

[Wolf] Mr. Diestel, the citizens's committees, and the FRG general state prosecutor Stahl know this much better than I do. I have heard that it was Department 22. This department was not under my authority. It was probably created only after my resignation in 1986. If all this really happened in such a way as is presented today, it was a very hot potato, which was dealt with in a particularly conspiratorial way even in our ministry. This means that hardly anyone knew about it apart from the people that dealt with this case.

[Brinkmann] What were the tasks of Department 22 in your opinion?

[Wolf] I do not know exactly. Yet according to what I have heard this department was intended to help the RAF people to get out of the terrorist scene.

Berlin Paper Declines Publishing Stasi Addresses

LD1806092290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0109 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The wrangle between East and West about the planned publication of the 9,251 addresses of former buildings of the State Security service in the Berlin TAGESZEITUNG (Taz) has ended. The paper writes on Monday [18 June] that contrary to a decision by the 'Taz' plenum on Friday, the editors had now decided not to publish the list in the paper. Interested parties can order it in writing. The paper also writes that shortly before putting the paper to bed the GDR editors refused their consent to publication. [passage omitted]

FRG Uses Information From Stasi Deserters

LD1806170290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1505 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (ADN)—Intelligence services of the FRG do, in individual cases, process information from Stasi deserters, since this is a part of their duty. In response to a question from the Greens, the federal government confirmed the truth of information from the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, according to which the Federal Republic is interested in having agents of the GDR external intelligence serice "come over to us."

The Federal Intelligence Service (BND) also continued to be interested in the military structures of the Warsaw Pact and the secret service activities directed against the interests of the FRG on the territory of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Former NATO Spy Said To Live in East Berlin

AU1906154390 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 19 Jun 90 p 5

["D.D."-signed report: "Information About Top Agent in East Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin—The arrest of RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorists in the GDR has obviously had a special effect. From circles of the East Berlin population, West Berlin security authorities have now received information on the whereabouts of former NATO spy Ursel Lorenzen. She is said to live with a new identity in East Berlin's Friedrichsfelde district on Enkevortweg, a small, out-of-the-way street lined with single-family and apartment houses. According to this information, she has now adopted the name "Sturm." The two-story house was temporarily used as a place for conspiracies by the State Security. It was also mentioned that Ursel Lorenzen drove a Western-made car.

According to information from DIE WELT, the former spy was recognized on 6 May, while working as an electoral assistant in the local elections at a polling station in the Lichtenberg district. For many years, Ursel Lorenzen, now 51, worked as an agent for the GDR Ministry for State Security in the directorate for operations in the NATO general secretariat in Brussels. Although she had not been uncovered, her resettlement in the GDR in 1979 was described as one of the worst cases of treason within NATO at that time. She talked about her activity as a State Security agent in Brussels on GDR Television in 1979, and in an international news conference in 1980.

GDR citizens, whose information leads to the arrest of persons wanted by the FRG police, are entitled to the full amount of the offered reward in FRG marks. This was stated by the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation in Wiesbaden.

De Maiziere at All-German CDU Conference

LD1806115490 Hamburg DPA in German 1106 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—According to De Maiziere the all-German CDU must increasingly reflect Christian values in its programs and place great emphasis on ecological and social problems.

He told the federal committee that together with the economy the CDU must "show to equal advantage" the ecological and social components. What is Christian must "be our joint program for the future," said the East Berlin government head, who did not speak about the current discussion on the date for all-German elections and the GDR's accession to the Federal Republic. De Maiziere was speaking for the first time to an elected body of the West CDU. The two CDU parties intend to unify at the beginning of October at the joint party congress in Hamburg.

De Maiziere warned against one-sided judgments on the GDR CDU's past as a block party with the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. A just judgment is only possible if one takes the circumstances of the time into consideration. For many people in the GDR, cooperation in the CDU had formerly been the only alternative to the SED if one did not wish to withdraw completely from public life.

Commentaries on De Maiziere's U.S. Visit

'Lock-Out' of Diplomats Criticized

AU1906165590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jun 90 p 2

[Klaus Steininger commentary: "Eclat"]

[Text] Springer's BILD, of all papers, had proof of Lothar de Maiziere's "eclat" in New York. The GDR premier went to the United States, and there he did "what the old hypocrite Honecker would also have done: He ran to the poorest place of the metropolis and uttered a slum slogan from the Stalinist textbook for anti-Americanism: 'If this is the price of freedom...'"

There was indeed an eclat, however of a totally different kind, at the beginning of the first U.S. visit by a GDR premier. The premier must have been ill-advised when he decided to impose a ban on contacts between the head of his mission to the United Nations and the GDR ambassador to the United States with the premier of their own country. Even though both GDR top diplomats have meanwhile reportedly been ordered by Foreign Minister Markus Meckel and Foreign Ministry personnel chief Hans-Martin Meckel to return to Berlin soon, they are still at their posts. The order to the GDR representatives not to bother the premier with their presence probably was a first in the history of the foreign service.

The fact that instead, De Maiziere quickly met with the head of the FRG mission in New York speaks for itself. It can hardly be made compatible with the will for independence and sovereign actions, which characterized the politicians' government statement as recently as two months ago. Obviously, the transitional government considers it fatal to stand up for its country as long as this country exists as a state that is bound by international treaties and integrated in a network of diplomatic relations. The hurried amputation of the GDR coat-of-arms shows this, as does the project of the transitional constitution, which envisages citizens without citizenship.

The lock-out of the diplomats, which demonstrated a lack of perspective and tact, signals that things are to proceed in this way.

Trip Has 'Atmosphere of Farewell'

AU1906184490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jun 90 p 2

[Reiner Oschmann commentary: "The Premiere That Was a Farewell"]

[Text] The first visit by a GDR premier to the United States was surrounded by an atmosphere of farewell—farewell from a country, its identity and independence. The Americans seem to have felt this—and this was not even disguised by the extraordinary attention paid to the guest. How does one act toward a head of government, who sees the "unique task" of his Cabinet in "making itself superfluous?" Not only were U.S. hosts sometimes confused because of this, and—Kohl's visit to Washington had taken place only a few days previously—this stubbornly gave rise to the feeling that the German issue has actually already been decided on the Potomac and the East River.

Was this visit superfluous? Not at all. The premier was obviously able to bring across the view that a united Germany in NATO presupposes a different, clearly more political and less military alliance. With this, De Maiziere demonstrated his sensitivity for our East European neighbors, and above all, for the interests of Moscow and Gorbachev, to an extent which cannot be presupposed in the United States.

De Maiziere also did not tire in making propaganda—for U.S. investments in the GDR. The bed has been made, capital may come. The response of the Americans: East Germany as an important bridgehead with a view to the EC and East Europe, this arouses our entrepreneurial spirit!

The talks with representatives of the World Jewish Congress probably caused a completely new determination in our relationship with the holocaust, with the Jews, and, one many suspect, also with the State of Israel. This is a change, and an important one at that, with which De Maiziere contributes something specific from the GDR. His dedication to stimulate the exchange of young people and students with Israel and the United States so that this issue is no longer just a matter of prestige but becomes an experience for many should not be appreciated any less. The message was heard—and this is quite a lot.

Timing of Visit Viewed

AU1906200190 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Jun 90 p 2

[Monika Graessler commentary: "Premiere for the Premier"]

[Text] What would Honecker have given to be able, just once, to bask in the flashlight of the photographers on the stairs of the White House? Despite all his strenuous efforts, the builder of the wall and longstanding defender of this mark of infamy of political architecture did not even come close to the back door of the changing center of western politics. Understandable.

The doors seemed to open smoothly for Premier Lothar de Maiziere. The decisive key for this probably were the political changes in our country since last autumn. There is no doubt that they rapidly increased the U.S. interest in the GDR. Which part the FRG chancellor had in the quick "open sesame" may remain unasked. In any case, he practically handed over the door-handle after his own visit to George Bush to his Christian Democratic brother in the intra-German urge for unification.

In every other respect, too, the date for the premiere of a GDR premier in the White House—his first visit certainly was also his last—was hardly a coincidence. De Maiziere's impressions of the Moscow Warsaw Pact summit were, in any case, fresh enough so that they were not already without importance for Washington. Thus understandably, everything (apart from De Maiziere's courting of U.S. investors) revolved around German unity and the still hot potato of alliance membership.

Despite all the rumors that had been launched beforehand, the temporary East Berlin head of government did not have any Gorbachev plan in his suitcase (would the USSR president actually need this?), but presented a remarkable proposal for an all-European security and peace union. From joint meetings of the Warsaw Pact and NATO to membership in a NATO with a changed military strategy, one can certainly follow the premier's ideas. The adherence to the European component of German unification, loyal to the government statement, is one of the most positive elements in practical policy.

Post scriptum: Was everything, therefore, beautiful in Washington? Hardly, if one thinks of the eclat surrounding the GDR ambassadors to the United States and the United Nations. De Maiziere did not want to see them. Or was this due to his (bad) advisers? Did the U.S. trip come to pass more quickly than the recall of the diplomats by Foreign Minister Meckel? This too was a premiere, a very embarrassing one.

Premier De Maiziere on Official Visit to France

Welcomed by Minister Cresson

LD1806141590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1344 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Paris (ADN reporter)—Premier Lothar de Maiziere arrived today for a two-day working visit to France. He was welcomed at Paris-Orly International Airport by French Minister for European Affairs Edith Cresson. The first stop on the head of government's visit will be the Elysee Palace, where President Francois Mitterrand will receive the GDR guest and the two will hold talks. Afterwards a meeting with French National Assembly President Laurent Fabius is planned. [passage omitted]

Meets With President Mitterrand

LD1806165990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1629 GMT 18 Jun 90

[By ADN reporter]

[Excerpts] Paris (ADN)—In the words of Premier Lothar de Maiziere, German unification must promote European integration and should not give rise to any fears on the part of Germany's neighbors in the East or West. The government leader told French President Francois Mitterrand in Paris today that the future united Germany must be firmly embedded in the European process.

The meeting with the French head of state marked the start of a two-day working visit, for which Lothar de Maiziere arrived in the French capital this afternoon. [passage omitted]

According to GDR delegation circles, De Maiziere reinforced in his talk with Mitterrand the view that a united Germany should belong to NATO as a transitional solution, until the creation of a pan-European security system, but on condition that NATO developed clearly in the direction of a political alliance. To this end, the GDR advocated the speedy continuation and conclusion of the two-plus-four talks.

Both sides advocated the extension of economic cooperation. With a turnover of seven billion francs (some 2 billion Deutsche marks), France was the GDR's largest Western trading partner after the FRG in 1989. Lothar de Maiziere expressed the GDR's intention to cooperate actively in the future in the great Franco-German reconciliation. He was particularly interested in cultural and youth exchanges.

Assesses Talk With Mitterrand

LD1806185390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1811 GMT 18 Jun 90

[By ADN reporter]

[Text] Paris (ADN)—After a talk with the French president lasting over an hour, which according to De Maiziere was conducted in a particularly cordial and warm atmosphere, the GDR premier told the press that Francois Mitterrand and he had been in agreement that the CSCE process must gain new and greater significance in all areas. A change in NATO strategy was considered absolutely necessary by France and the GDR.

De Maiziere also emphasized the French economy's great readiness to assist the GDR in overcoming its economic problems.

More on Paris Talks

LD1806213190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1920 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Paris (ADN reporter)—The GDR and France agree that the process of German unification must continue at the current pace, but that optimal transitional models for the future Germany's security policy have not yet been found. [passage omitted]

Lothar de Maiziere held a meeting today with French national Assembly President Laurent Fabius. The atmosphere of their conversation, like that of his meeting with Francois Mitterrand, was particularly warm, the premier said. He renewed the invitation, extended by People's chamber President Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, to visit the GDR.

GDR Government deputy spokeswoman Angela Merkel said of the talks that De Maiziere stressed that German unification must promote European integration and should not be allowed to provoke any fears among Germany's neighbors both in East and in the West. The Soviet Union should not be excluded from the reshaping of Europe. The impression should not be given that Stalin won the war and that Gorbachev is in the process of losing it at a later date.

The French showed great interest in the extension of economic relations between France and the GDR. President Mitterrand also signaled his strong commitment to intensify cultural and youth exchanges, Mrs. Merkel said. The Eastern part of Germany should thus be fully integrated into the Franco-German reconciliation.

In the evening De Maiziere told leading representatives of the French economy that the GDR deems it a dictate of wisdom and reason to strongly encourage other Western industrialized nations, in addition to FRG companies, to invest in the GDR. At a dinner given by Minister for Europe Edith Cresson he promised French industry similar competitive prospects. As examples of possible cooperation the premier cited investment in the areas of infrastructure and telecommunications, and the development of efficient food processing and a modern packaging industry. [passage omitted]

Meets French Senate President

LD1906161190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1019 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Paris (ADN reporter)—France considers German unity a historic necessity, French Senate President Alain Poher stressed at a meeting with GDR Premier Lothar de Maiziere in Paris today [19 June]. At the meeting, which took place in a friendly atmosphere at the Palais Luxembourg, the seat of the Senate, the two politicians agreed that the process of German unification has to take place in a well-considered way and without haste. De Maiziere spoke about the internal developments in the GDR, including the creation of Laender structures as an important step toward German unity. [passage omitted]

Views European Security Order

LD1906132890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1111 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Paris (ADN reporter)—In the view of the GDR Premier Lothar de Maiziere the building of a new security order for Europe represents the "greatest challenge to our political skills." At a dinner hosted by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas in Paris this evening, the GDR premier stated that such an order requires the stability of neighboring countries, the overcoming of the drastic economic disparity between the West and the East, and the end of man's overexploitation of nature. The long-term aim of this process must be the overcoming of military deterrence. As a result of President Francois Mitterrand's proposal to create a European confederation, France is emerging as the champion of a united Europe in the present situation of radical change.

De Maiziere spoke in favor of reaching agreements on initial steps toward all-European security structures at the CSCE summit scheduled to take place in Paris in the autumn. Parallel to this the existing structures should be divested of their character of bloc confrontation and the military forces in all weapons categories should be significantly reduced. The GDR premier said the USSR had played a decisive role in the changes in East Europe. This means that changes in Europe must not take place in a way that is one-sidedly oriented to the West. "The Soviet Union and the East European countries are a part of Europe. Their interests must be preserved in the process of changes just as much as everyone else's interests."

De Maiziere named it as a paramount concern of his government to make the unification of Germany a "stimulus for the creation of a European peace order." Despite all the complex problems to be overcome, the current intensive dialogue make him feel optimistic. Mindful of the painful experiences of the past, commonsense and respect for the feelings of the peoples makes it imperative not to allow room for fresh concerns in connection with the German unification process, he added. This includes in particular a reliable guarantee for secure borders. Germany no longer has any disputed borders and will consist of the territory of the FRG and GDR and the two sections of Berlin.

The premier described his visit to France as a "tessera [small part among many in a mosaic] for Franco-German friendship" and the sympathy from Paris for German unification as an encouragement.

Talks With French Businessmen

LD1906152790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1128 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Paris ADN—At a meeting with top French businessmen today [19 June], GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere tried to attract French investment in the GDR, particularly in small- and medium-sized companies. At the Paris seat of the employers' organization CNPF [expansion unknown], he said his government wants open borders for capital and investment. In this respect modernizing the infrastructure, above all telecommunications and the energy sector, further developing a powerful food industry, and developing various services are particularly urgent.

He named the following five points that should, from the GDR's point of view, be the focus of attention in the near future: an agreement on cooperation in small- and medium-sized industrial enterprises, help from the banks in implementing the change to a market economy in the EC framework, cooperation in sectors requiring a great deal of research, where France has particular experience, training GDR managers in France, and the GDR's function as a bridge for trade between France and East Europe.

De Maiziere asked French businessmen to overcome their hestitation and seize the opportunities available in the GDR. In order to prevent market monopolies, he did not promise a cartels law.

Urges Change in NATO Strategy

LD1906200790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1740 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Paris (ADN reporter)—GDR Premier Lothar de Maiziere has called upon the countries of the Atlantic Alliance to give clear signs at their summit in early July to make NATO membership of a whole Germany tolerable for the East European neighbors. At a news conference today in the GDR's Paris Embassy, he said that far-reaching changes in the Alliance's structure and strategy are necessary. He agrees with President Mitterrand and his other French partners that the aim of European security policy must lie not in the shifting about of blocs, but in the overcoming of blocs. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere said that in all the talks he had stressed that in the process of German unification, it is a case of the unification of two sovereign states and that this process must be bound into European integration. Like him, President Mitterrand's view is that great hopes should be placed in the results of the negotiations on conventional disarmament in the Austrian capital. Vienna I must be augmented by Vienna II—the disarmament of nuclear short-range weapons. [passage omitted]

Ends Visit to France

LD2006071890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0708 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Paris (ADN reporter)—GDR Premier Lothar de Maiziere ended his two-day working visit to France and started his journey home this morning from Paris-Orly Airport. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Eppelmann To Visit France

LD1806191990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1851 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Strausberg (ADN)—Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann will visit France tomorrow [19 June]. During his stay, which will last several days, the GDR minister will hold talks with his French counterpart Jean-Pierre Chevenement, and will visit units of the French Armed Forces. This was announced by the Defense Ministry's Press Office.

Meckel Holds Talks With EC's Andriessen

AU1906112690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 12 Jun 90 p 2

["M.A.-NZ" report: "Useful For Everyone Involved"]

[Text] East Berlin—At a news conference GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel said that the talks that he held with EC Commission Vice President Frans Andriessen in Berlin are a building block for the emerging good relations with the EC. The GDR is a special case because it may join the EC without the usually protracted negotiations for membership. In line with Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law, the GDR will become an EC member and can make use of all advantages of the EC from the very start. There is no doubt that this is an advantage, but it entails adjusting the damaged GDR economy within the shortest possible period to the market conditions of the EC. The meeting with the EC politician contributed to detailing the standpoints of both sides, Meckel said. The foreign minister reported that he agreed with Mr. Andriessen to form an interministerial working group and to give it the assignment of doing further work concerning accession to the EC.

The EC politicians stated that accession to the EC is beneficial to the GDR itself and positive for the entire EC, since a Germany which will be economically stronger in the future can make a contribution—which will be positive for the entire EC—to coming to terms with the high demands put on the EC globally.

Increase in Agricultural Exports Announced

AU1906122590 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Jun 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Fast Growth of Exports Improves Possibilities for Sales"]

[Text] It is the declared objective of the government to preserve GDR agriculture and to bring about the competitiveness of the agricultural enterprises. This was stated by Food, Agriculture and Forest Minister Peter Pollack at a meeting with agricultural experts in Berlin yesterday [11 June].

With respect to current problems in the agricultural sector, Minister Pollack outlined measures for achieving a faster reduction of the production of agricultural goods. His ministry has ensured that approximately 700,000 pigs for slaughter can be exported. This is twice as many as in the first three months and one-third more than in the same period last year. As a result of the high milk supply, some 50,000 tonnes of butter will be exported in the first half year. The minister said that this corresponds to the quantity for the year 1990.

As far as the uncontrolled import of the highest quality foods from the FRG, Minister Pollack outlined the new bill of the Council of Ministers. It includes the financial framework conditions and measures for promoting the modernization of the marketing and processing industry. This is the only way to adapt agricultural raw material to the requirements of Western markets, Pollack concluded.

Number of Joint Ventures Increases to 1,970

AU1906191590 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Jun 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Now 1,970 Joint Ventures"]

[Text] The number of joint ventures authorized in the GDR increased by 825 to 1,970 in May. According to the Economics Ministry, most of them are small- and medium-sized enterprises authorized by the bezirk councils. The Economics Ministry authorized 48 large enterprises.

The planned turnover of all joint ventures will total 12 billion marks. Out of that sum, eight billion marks fall to the 48 large enterprises. Most joint ventures were founded in Berlin and in the Magdeburg and Leipzig bezirks, extremely few were founded in the Frankfurt/Oder, Cottbus, and Neubrandenburg bezirks. More than one-third of the joint ventures will work in the production or craftsmen's areas.

DM Exchange Rate Set For Poles in GDR

LD1906194890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Correspondent Zdzislaw Urbanek report from Berlin]

[Text] Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz's talks in Berlin today with the GDR finance and economics ministers were difficult but very fruitful. The talks concerned all aspects of current and future economic cooperation with our western neighbor, the exchange of goods and services, and the exchange rate between western and eastern marks, to which Polish citizens, enterprises, and institutions adhere. The information that I am giving at this moment will most certainly please thousands of Polish workers employed and living in the GDR and their families.

As with GDR citizens, their savings will be exchanged—that is, the first 4,000 East German marks—at a rate of one GDR mark for one West German mark, and the remainder of savings at two to one. Grants paid out to Polish students and academic employees will also be exchanged at the one-to-one rate, as well as all other forms of payment, including pensions and inheritances. As with GDR citizens, Polish workers' pay for those employed here will be exchanged at a rate of one to one from 1 July. Unfortunately, I have bad news, at least for today, for "S" account-holders [accounts holding currency of socialist countries], where GDR marks have been accumulated. The GDR Government refuses to exchange savings accumulated in Polish banks, but, as deputy chairman of the Polish National Bank, Grzegorz Wojtowicz stated at a news conference in Berlin that this issue will be the subject of further negotiation.

In view of the fact that the GDR mark stops being legal tender from 1 July, Polish tourists heading for the GDR for their holidays and young people coming here for summer camps ought to have West German marks. The GDR Government continues to be interested in the development of economic cooperation with Poland and in specialist services offered by Polish workers on the GDR market. Regarding trade transactions, formerly based on transferable rubles, the West German mark will be the exclusive legal tender from 1 January next year. GDR Finance Minister Walter Romberg is going to Warsaw for talks next week in order to discuss, among other things, the proposal for the formation of a Polish-German economic border zone.

German Defense Committees Meet in Bonn

LD2006084190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0802 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The defense committees of the two German parliaments, the Bundestag and the People's Chamber, are holding their first joint meeting in Bonn today, 20 June. On the agenda are joint problems relating to security, disarmament, and arms control policies. Individual topics for discussion are an evaluation of the new situation, the future of the Federal Army and of the National People's Army, and the alliance allegiance of a united Germany. The Bundestag committee is headed by Uwe Ronneburger Free Democratic Party; the People's Chamber committee delegation is led by its chairman Karl-August Kamilli Social Democratic Party.

In the introductory statements, the two politicians advocated a united Germany's membership of NATO, but rejected the stationing of NATO armed forces on GDR territory.

After the joint meeting, the People's Chamber committee for Disarmament and Defense will participate in the plenary session of the Bundestag.

Regional Radio Programs Starting 1 Jul

AU1906112990 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 12 Jun 90 p 2

[NZ report: "Radio Getting Regional"]

[Text] East Berlin—As of 1 July 1990, the image of GDR radio will change. As Antenne Brandenburg started doing in May, in the other four future GDR laender, radio programs will broadcast 20 hours per day of information and entertainment from their immediate domestic region, according to a radio press release. Sachsenradio, Thueringen Eins, Radio Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, and Radio Sachsen Anhalt are the names of the new stations.

With this first step of federalization GDR radio is facing a serious change in its history. What the listeners will gain was announced by the radio's Directorate General in a statement on 27 April 1990: "The democratic restructuring of social life in the GDR makes it necessary to make the establishment of high-capacity regional radio stations a priority of change." The start of broadcasting of the first radio programs of the laender indicates the path toward this. However, only the freely elected parliaments and governments of the laender can decide what their radio stations will look like, how many programs they will offer, whether two or more laender are to join efforts to produce public radio. In the view of GDR radio, the decision to start this kind of broadcast on 1 July 1990 makes it possible to accompany the democratic process of the constitution of the laender by the most topical mass medium.

Fur Comments on Country's Future Defense Policy

LD2006112590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Report on news conference with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by correspondent Gyorgy Ney in Budapest on 20 June]

[Text] At present, the most important task of the defense portfolio is (?directing) its departure from the Warsaw Pact and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Obviously, this is a matter of working together.

Minister Lajos Fur also said that the country's security policy will have three basic tenets. The grounds for them are now being laid; they are being coordinated. The essence is: joining the all- European security system; developing regional cooperation; and a system of various bilateral agreements. We will find out the details of this idea in one or two months' time. The central element of the military doctrine is its defensive nature—a concentric defense to avert a purely temporary aggression.

The Army's numbers and weapons will be further reduced. By the middle to end of 1992, the Army's size will number 90,000 instead of 127,000. The number of generals in the corps has decreased from 87 to 47. Ex-Deputy Minister Ferenc Szombathelyi was retired, said Lajos Fur, partly because this office has been abolished, and also because of his political past. For years he worked in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee apparatus, and was also an advisor to Karoly Grosz.

Lajos Fur repeated the already familiar Hungarian stance that in agreement with its exit from the Warsaw Pact, the Hungarian Army will not participate in joint military exercises, nor will there be any military exercises on our territory. After the Moscow and Berlin [Warsaw Pact] meetings, the minister said—taking account of the economic situation and the decision of the parliament—Hungary cannot work out development plans for the Joint Armed Forces in 1991. Concerning the reduction of forces and the modernization of military technology, he said that experts are working on how the Army can be supplied by Hungarian industry rather than today's imports system.

Antall Begins Official Visits to FRG, France

LD1906150390 Budapest MTI in English 1326 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—Prime Minister Antall left for a three-day official visit to the FRG on Tuesday afternoon, at the invitation by Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The first leg of the Hungarian delegation's visit is in the Bavarian town of Munich. Subsequent to the visit to the FRG, Mr Antall is expected for a two-day working visit in France, beginning June 22.

The prime minister and his entourage was seen off at Ferihegy airport by Balazs Horvath, minister of interior. Alexander Arnot and Pierre Brochand, ambassadors to Hungary of the FRG and France were also there at the ceremony.

Arrives in FRG

LD1906151790 Budapest MTI in English 1412 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Munich, June 19 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and his entourage arrived in Munich on Tuesday afternoon, the first venue of his three-day official visit to the FRG.

The delegation was received at the airport by Max Streibl, prime minister of Bavaria. The two prime ministers met for talks in the afternoon.

Subsequently, Mr Antall met with bank representatives and leading economic experts.

Talks With Bavarian Minister-President

LD1906204690 Budapest MTI in English 1925 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Munich, June 19 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall arrived in Munich, the first stop of his official visit to the FRG, on Tuesday afternoon.

Mr Antall and his entourage were welcomed at the airport, and then in Prince Karl Palace by Max Streibl, prime minister of the Bavaria.

Mr Streibl recalled that Bavaria, which together with Baden-Wuerttemberg has supported the Hungarian reform process not only in principle but financially as well, aims at making Bavarian-Hungarian cooperation a model of genuine cooperation to be created with the Central and East European states. He added that the Bavarian side follows the difficulties of the change in system in Hungary with understanding, and will continue to stand by Hungary as a friend.

The Bavarian prime minister voiced his gratitude over the fact that Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky unanimously supported the German position at the Paris assembly of the West European Union, namely that the integration of Germany into the Western alliance system is the best solution not only for the whole of Europe, but also for the Soviet Union. No-one has anything to fear from a greater Germany, especially in case Germany and Europe will have unanimous federative features, he said.

Mr Streibl noted there is no third road between socialism and social market economy, and encouraged the Hungarian Government for further progress. He added Bavaria supports Hungary's request for membership in the Council of Europe.

In his return speech, Mr Antall recalled the Bavarian-Hungarian relations which have a considerable past, then quoted the late Bavarian prime minister Franz-Josef Strauss, who said Hungarians had shed their blood for centuries in defence of Europe and Christianity. Continuing this train of thought, the Hungarian prime minister stressed: "Europe and Christianity for Hungary are not political programmes, but rather its own history."

Mr Antall appreciated the historical merits of Bavaria in receiving the Hungarian emigrants in modern history. He also said: "We are proud, and it fills us with joy, that we were able to do something in the interest of realizing this unity. For us, it was natural to acknowledge this unity, and the fact that Europe has nothing to fear from this, as I know of no better democracy and law-governed state than what has been realized in the FRG, and a socio-economic system has come about on the principle of social market economy which we can follow without fear."

The prime minister said Hungary intends to create the closest possible political, economic and cultural relations also with the unified Germany, and asked for assistance from his hosts in the interest that Hungary be able to take its place in the family of European peoples, as soon as possible.

Following the mutual greetings, Mr Antall held discussions of a limited attendance with his Bavarian colleague on possibilities to develop Hungarian-Bavarian relations.

The Hungarian prime minister then held talks with leading representatives of Bavarian economic and financial life, then made a courtesy call at Cardinal Fridrich Wepper, archbishop of Munich and Freising.

In the evening, Mr Streibl hosted a gala dinner in honour of Mr Antall.

Honored at Dinner

LD2006085190 Budapest MTI in English 0727 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Munich, June 20 (MTI)—The first events of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's visit to the FRG, which started on Tuesday, reflected mutual sympathy, appreciation of the road covered by Hungary, and support for Hungary's joining the United Europe. In Munich, the first leg of his visit, Antall held talks with Bavarian Minister-President Max Streibl, and senior businessmen and bankers, made a courtesy call at the archbishop of Munich, and delivered a speech at a gala dinner hosted in his honour.

Antall emphasized Hungary's foreign policy endeavours for taking part in European integration, joining the Council of Europe and establishing an associated partnership with the European communities as soon as possible, and "getting out of the slowly collapsing CEMA." The prime minister reconfirmed Hungary's intention of withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty. He added, however, that Hungary was realistic in these aspirations and did not want to make a harmful infuence on the European processes.

Bavarian Minister-President Max Streibl urged to deepen economic relations. He recalled that last year the FRG imported 2,600 million Deutschmarks [DM] worth of goods from Hungary, one third of which went to Bavaria, while Bavarian exports to Hungary amounted to 700 million DM.

It was announced on the first day of Antall's visit that the Republic of Hungary would open a consulate-general in Munich in the first half of July.

On Wednesday, the Hungarian prime minister is scheduled to meet August Lang, Bavarian minister of economics and transport, and visit the research centre of BMW.

Later on the day, Antall is to leave for Stuttgart and meet Lothar Spaeth, minister-president of Baden-Wurttemberg.

Ministry Sees Dual GDR Citizenship Unlikely

LD1906091790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry does not consider it possible for Hungarians living in what is now GDR territory to receive dual citizenship. Many people have asked for this, in letters sent to the consulate's main department. A competent official from the ministry has told a MAGYAR HIRLAP correspondent: If Hungary abrogates the agreement concluded with the GDR in 1967, which excludes dual citizenship, even then the problem will not be resolved because of laws in the bordering FRG. Some 10,000 Hungarians live in the present-day GDR.

Turkish Foreign Minister Begins Visit

LD1806202490 Budapest MTI in English 1937 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 18 (MTI)—Turkish Foreign Minister Ali Bozer arrived in Budapest on Monday for a two-day working visit. He is meeting an invitation from Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

Mr Bozer began his official talks shortly after arrival. At a meeting with Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, the sides reviewed possibilities to develop bilateral economic relations. The Turkish foreign minister announced his government recently approved a 100-million-dollar credit line for Hungary. He also said Turkish companies would welcome the opportunity to participate in the Hungarian projects of the Budapest-Vienna World Expo, particularly in the areas of infrastructure and the hotel industry. Tourism could also be another priority area of developing bilateral relations.

Turkey, alongside participating in the Phare programme that promotes Hungarian industrial restructuring, also provides a non-refundable assistance of 250,000 dollars to support small industry.

The two ministers agreed in the need to sign an agreement on eliminating double taxation, and on investment protection, in the interest of expanding relations. Turkey is ready to provide assistance for the transformation of the Hungarian banking system, in the training of experts, and in technical development.

Turkey Approves Loan

LD1906160690 Budapest MTI in English 1102 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 19, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Turkish Government has recently approved a 100 million USD [U.S. dollar] loan for Hungary, visiting Turkish Foreign Minister Ali Bozer announced in Budapest on Monday [18 June]. Mr Bozer held talks with the Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky on Monday and Tuesday.

An official at the Ministry of International Economic Relations told MTI-ECONEWS that the terms of the credit will be discussed at a meeting between the president of the Turkish Eximbank, who is due to come to Budapest soon, and the president of the National Bank of Hungary.

High on the agenda at the meeting of the two foreign ministers were prospects for Ikarus bus sales to Turkey, with Hungary planning to export 1,200-1,300 units to Turkey this year. Both sides confirmed their intention to sign several agreements, preferably this year, on the protection of investments and the avoidance of double taxation.

Turkey is contributing 250,000 USD to the Phare programme for boosting Hungarian private business.

Hungarian exports to Turkey are expected to exceed 120 million USD this year, while imports will be around 45 million USD. Last year exports valued 97 million USD and imports 40 million USD.

There are currently two joint ventures in operation in each country.

Foreign Minister Bozer Ends Visit

LD1906165990 Budapest MTI in English 1511 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—Turkish Foreign Minister Ali Bozer left Budapest on Tuesday afternoon, having concluded his two-day official visit. During his visit Mr Bozer also met with Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic, Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations and his Hungarian counterpart, Geza Jeszenszky.

Prior to his departure Mr Bozer told newsmen that this is his first visit to Hungary, and also the first one to an East European country. Mr Bozer came to express his government's appreciation for Hungary's achievements in the process of democratization and economic liberalization.

Mr Bozer also reported that on Tuesday morning he surveyed the revolutionary changes—as he put it—having taken place in Eastern Europe, and discussed the new European status-quo in the wake of unifying the two German states.

The minority issue was also one of the topics discussed. Turkey and Hungary are faced with similar problems, Mr Bozer continued, there is a Turkish minority both in Greece and in Bulgaria, just like there is a Hungarian minority in Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The sides agreed that the rights of minorities should be guaranteed, and that the charta of minority rights should be drafted as soon as possible.

Regarding Hungarian-Turkish relations, the prime [as received] ministers confirmed the need to step up political and economic cooperations and to expand cultural links as well.

During talks Mr Bozer reiterated invitations for an official visit to Turkey to the Hungarian head of state, the premier, and the foreign minister.

ILO Members Promise 'Considerable' Support

LD1906071190 Budapest MTI in English 0629 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—Sandor Gyorivanyi, minister of labour, who had attended the 77th conference of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in Geneva, returned to Hungary with the promise of considerable foreign support.

In the conference, ILO Director-General Michel Hansenne asked the member states to help ease Hungarys employment problems, Gyorivanyi told MTI.

The U.S. secretary of labour announced that the USA would take part in the establishment of a retraining centre in Baranya County.

The West German minister of labour reconfirmed that, on a Hungarian request, the FRG would receive 10,000 Hungarian employees, 3,000 more than today.

Under an agreement to be signed in Budapest early July, Italy is to employ 1,500 Hungarians.

On the request of the British secretary of state for employment, Hungarian experts are soon to leave for London to negotiate on the concrete forms of assistance.

Hungary and Czechoslovakia are to sign a labour exchange agreement in the near future.

Some governments offered assistance in training. Late June 200 young Hungarians are to leave for Israel to learn advanced methods of fruit-growing. Three French farm machinery factories are prepared to receive Hungarian school-leavers for a one-year training course.

Austrian Periodical Published in Budapest

LD1906073690 Budapest MTI in English 0644 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—The first issue of "EUROPAI SZEMLE", the Hungarian version of the Austrian periodical "EUROPA:ISCHE RUNDSCHAU", came out on Monday [18 June] with articles by Jozsef Antall, Franz Vranitzky and the foreign ministers of the two countries.

The foundation behind the paper, and the editors set the aim that the quarterly should promote the opening of Austria and Europe towards the democratic Hungary, and the latters opening towards the West.

The first issue, which was appreciated by Austrian Minister of Culture Erhard Busek and Editor-in-Chief Paul Lendvai at the Austrian Embassy Monday evening, analyses the current political and social conditions of Europe, provides a picture on the foreign policy endeavours of Hungary, and discusses some important issues of the future of the continent, first of all Eastern Europe.

Slovak Weekly Carries 'Vitriolic' Article

AU1906081590 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Anti-Hungarian Outbursts in a Slovak Newspaper—The Accusations: Nationalist Aggressiveness"]

[Text] Under the headline "Sufferings or Irredentism", the Slovak literary weekly LITERARNY TYZDENNIK published a vitriolic anti-Hungarian article in its 1 June issue.

According to the author of this article, Hungary is directly interfering in the internal affairs of neighboring countries, something that "proves that, to this day, the Hungarian policy toward its neighbors has maintained its nationalist aggressiveness and the exploitive philosophy of the historical Hungary of the past." The article goes on to claim that "Budapest's position concerning the national minorities living in Hungary not only reflects the remnants of the past, but is also a product of a national minority policy that has become neither at all democratic nor more humane."

"Hungary, which widened its ethnic borders by means of an aggressive policy of assimilation, has not accepted the new borders to this very day. As the aggressive forces are aware of the fact that it is now impossible to change these borders, they subordinate the current strategy to the plans of a common European home.

"The Hungarian minority wants to force the Slovaks out of Southern Slovakia by all means, in order to create a compact national territory. The proposals on rejecting the Slovak language as an official language and on widening the network of Hungarian schools serve this purpose. According to the Budapest program, a situation must be created in which, at a proper moment, a territorial autonomy can be demanded, and later independence, in the course of joining the European home."

The author continues by claiming that the main problem of the Hungarian national minority is the inherited feeling of superiority over other nations, and the hidden or open political efforts made by the Hungarian Government in this direction. For the author of the aforementioned article, the solution is for the Hungarian national minority to accept the official language in Slovakia as an essential cultural and social condition of coexistence with the Slovaks.

The article also condemns Matyas Szuros' letter to Vaclav Havel, as well as Gyula Horn's alleged declaration that he is interested in a meeting in Bratislava only if they can solve the problem of the Hungarian national minority there. (This is a misinterpreted and distorted quotation from Horn's statement.) This is an ultimatum that reminds the author of a similar ultimatum made by Horthy. "Czechoslovakia already has enough experience with Hungarian irredentism, and everything that is happening now and what the leading Hungarian representatives are doing today originate from the same root, and the forms are not quite accidental."

Romanian Proposal on Minorities 'Negative'

LD1906092290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] The minorities will slowly become Europe's most pressing problem. This was said by Andre Erdos, who heads the Hungarian delegation at the human rights forum in Copenhagen.

[Begin Erdos recording] We would not like texts to be drawn up here in which the national minorities are proclaimed to be, in some manner, the state's enemy. The Romanian approach suggests that minorities are the source of problems, uncertainties of all types. We would like, rather, a positive approach in the sphere of national minorities, and I feel that the proposal submitted by the Romanian colleagues suggests a negative approach. I dare to hope, and I believe, on the basis of my conversations, that this type of approach will not be reflected in the document we shall draw up. Concerning the other side of the question, the Romanian contribution reflected not so much the Romanian stance toward the national minorities, but rather replied to the criticisms voiced last week in connection with the Romanian, more precisely Bucharest, events.

Now, I could say that the Romanian contribution was conciliatory and apologetic. It appealed to the participating countries to understand the situation which had developed in Bucharest. It referred to the premier's letter, and asked the delegates not to hamper a settlement of the situation by making critical remarks in connection with the events there. [end recording]

Youth Hold Demonstration at Romanian Embassy

LD1906214190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Hungarian young people held a protest demonstration in front of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest because of the violent suppression of the demonstrations in Bucharest. The late night demonstration was organized by the Youth Democratic Forum. The demonstrators handed over a letter to the Romanian ambassador in which they expressed their solidarity with the demonstrators in Bucharest University Square and they also described as unacceptable the Romanian Government's action against the university students and the opposition.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Oman

LD1906162890 Budapest MTI in English 1344 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—A joint communique was issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Tuesday on the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level between Hungary and the Sultanate of Oman.

"The relationship between the Republic of Hungary and the Sultanate of Oman shall be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other as well as on the principle of equality and mutual benefits in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations' Charter.

The Republic of Hungary and the Sultanate of Oman, while announcing this joint communique, sincerely hope that the diplomatic relations will contribute to the strengthening of the words of friendship and cooperation for the benefit of the two countries." End of the communique.

National Assembly Debates Election Issues

Antall Speaks

LD1906130290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1017 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed house, ladies and gentlemen. I beg your pardon for speaking out of turn, however in a few minutes I must leave. I shall set off on my one-week journey to Germany and France. I naturally have followed with attention the debate and the entire referendum question directly by making statements about this in the press, and statements I have made elsewhere on the subject have been quoted. I do not wish to go into details now. I do not wish to avail myself of any oratorical devices. However, I think that in the legal and political situation which has taken shape, it is necessary for me to take a stand.

One: in my judgement it would be correct if we were to hold the local authority elections as soon as possible, and...[applause]

[Reporter] You hear applause from the benches of the government party and some deputies of Federation of Young Democrats and Alliance of Free Democrats.

[Antall continues] The National Assembly has extended the mandates of the councils until 23 September, which is a Sunday. I believe it would be justified for us to hold the local authority elections on 23 September. I would like to emphasize to the president of the Republic that he had the full right, it was in his jurisdiction, to announce the local authority elections for 14 September...for 14th October. I would like to point out once more: He is not bound to this being registered in advance by the premier, and we must respect his decision to this effect.

Nonetheless, I must ask the president of the Republic to consider altering this day, the date of local authority elections, to 23 September. On the one hand, the mandate of the councils will last until then. Second, it is the country's basic interest that the change of system should take place as soon as possible; in the smallest village, too, they should feel as soon as possible that the personnel change, the introduction of the new political system, has taken place.

It is not possible to govern in a situation where, in essence, local authorities exist for months which function on the basis of election results or electoral system that differ from the government. For precisely this reason, we consider it important that this condition, which emerged necessarily, should end as soon as possible. That is why we are asking the president of the Republic to consider this. Naturally, if the president cannot consider our proposal, we shall be compelled to take note of this. That is one thing.

The other thing is that we are obligated to comply with the law, even if we consider it to be a bad law and to be erroneous in the form in which the law on referendums was drawn up in the past. This can be verified by several indications and several comments, from experts and laymen alike. In spite of this, we must take note of the submission with more than 100,000 signatures. We give it cognizance. We think that this could be held, according to the stipulations in the law, in December following the local authority elections. The country should hold this referendum, for we have no other choice. Until then, the president of the Republic, albeit on an interim basis, should be authorized to exercise full presidential jurisdiction. We shall respect the result of the December referendum, whatever this might be, whether it is valid, and if it is, what decision will be taken afterward. The government now faces the most difficult tasks. We are constantly criticized, without consideration of the circumstances in which the leadership was handed over, the circumstances in which the most necessary measures must be prepared, the government set up, and in which we had to take steps we have taken or soon will take as well as the submissions we shall put forward, including the bill on self-government. We believe that all that has happened proved that it would not expedient if now, at this time, in these weeks, this period was disturbed by another referendum campaign, a referendum. For this reason, we would consider it expedient for a referendum not to be held now, but only after the local authority elections, naturally respecting the situation necessarily stemming from the law.

This means that we take note of a referendum in December, and until then, we shall propose that what has been said be taken into account.

We have said several times that we feel there is no justification, at present, for this referendum initiative. I do not wish to engage in making personal remarks, in quoting documents from the past. I think that plenty of replies could also be found to them. At the time we honorably concluded the agreement, we honorably took note that a clause would be incorporated in the constitutional amendment to the effect that if the president of the Republic were elected before parliamentary elections, this would take place through direct elections. We accepted a constitutional amendment to this effect, and this is the kind of agreement we signed in September 1989.

Because this was overturned by the referendum at the time, a situation emerged as a consequence of which the institution of election of president by parliament remained in the Constitution. We did not agree with the decision, and it was not part of the political agreement when Independent Deputy Zoltan Kiraly, in the concluding phase of the previous parliament, made a proposal for direct election, and the National Assembly at the time accepted this.

However, I would also like to emphasize: If the Hungarian people decide—and they naturally have this right—that they will hold direct elections, then we shall recognize that they are in favor of direct presidential elections. However, we propose the decision in favor of direct presidential elections on the basis of what has been said. If it was possible in the past period to resolve the question of head of state in the existing form, then the same question can be resolved in the coming months by strengthening this form, by exercising full presidential jurisdiction. I think that from the viewpoint of Hungary's government, solving our economic and other problems, and also from the viewpoint of the country's political transformation, administration, the primary question at present is the holding of local authority elections as soon as possible, so that there should really be a comprehensive administration. Hungary should have an administration based on comprehensive self-government, and so that, finally, a change of system should prevail throughout the country.

I do not wish to say any more, and I ask the National Assembly to take this into account. I apologize for not being able to add any more to this, at the moment. I cannot even wait for the reply to the debate, because I must leave. I thank you very much for your patience, and for having listened to me. [applause]

SZDSZ Calls for Referendum

LD1906134690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0843 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Speech by Peter Tolgyessy, member of the Alliance of Free Democrats, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed house, ladies and gentlemen. I would like to speak in the debate, and inform you of the stance of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], about the well-known proposal according to which the Hungarian Socialist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, Member of Parliament Zoltan Kiraly, and the DEMISZ [Democratic Youth's Association] as the legal successor to KISZ [Communists Youth Association] are initiating a referendum on the election of the president of the Republic.

The SZDSZ does not wish to make a political assessment of this initiative. What we would like to state very briefly is that we recognize as legitimate the proposal initiated by the organizations stemming from the party-state, if the signatures are deemed valid by the relevant authorities. It is our fullest conviction that in view of the local elections scheduled for 14 October by the president of the Republic, this referendum must be held at the earliest possible date. In a word, let the people decide.

Proposal on President's Mandate Rejected

LD1906173390 Budapest MTI in English 1634 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—Debate on amending the Constitution ended on Tuesday afternoon in parliament. MPs submitted more than 50 amending proposals, and separate votes were held about each one.

In the course of this, parliament rejected with great majority, 382 votes against and 12 for, the joint motion submitted on Monday by Independent MPs Miklos Nemeth and Zoltan Kiraly. The main point of the proposal was that the mandate of the president of the Republic elected for the first time should run for two years, starting with the date of the election. During this period, a national referendum would have had to be held on the means of electing the president.

Referendum Date Discussed

LD1906142390 Budapest MTI in English 1336 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—During the debate in parliament over the timing of the referendum on the election of the president, Balazs Horvath, interior minister, informed deputies that his ministry is prepared for handling the referendum.

Mr Horvath went on to say however that calling the referendum within a month would pose an increasing burden both financially and organizationally to public administration and would also jeopardize thorough preparations for the autumn municipal elections. The cost of holding the referendum within a month is estimated at 500 million forints.

Peter Hack, speaking in the name of the Free Democrats' parliamentary group said, in view of the fact that October 14 was the date set by the interim president for holding the municipal elections, he proposes holding the referendum on July 14. Mr Hack agreed that the referendum would adversely affect preparations for the municipal elections, but the responsibility for this lies with those initiating the measure. Mr Hack questioned the need for bringing forward the municipal elections, all the more so because the government has not yet tabled the related bill.

Manpower Situation, Unemployment Analyzed

AU1906124290 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 12 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Labor Exchange Activity Has Doubled—Increasingly Fewer Open Jobs—Disproportions on the Manpower Market—Hopeless People who Receive Unemployment Benefits"]

[Text] The only term suitable for characterizing the current situation on the manpower market is that it is becoming worse. The trend that has been going on for about one year is that, while the number of people seeking jobs is constantly increasing, the number of registered open jobs is constantly decreasing. This process has accelerated this year.

The activity of labor exchange offices doubled in the first quarter of this year. A total of 57,000 people who lost their jobs were registered at the labor exchange offices, and no jobs could be found for more than 32,000 of these people. Although employers registered a number of 34,000 open jobs, this number shows a 37-percent decrease compared with the previous period.

On the basis of a superficial analysis of these numbers, one could draw the conclusion that some 60 percent of the job seekers could find jobs. Unfortunately, the structure of demand and supply differs considerably. The situation is even worse if we consider not only the distribution of jobs according to professions, but also their distribution according to districts. Out of the total number of job seekers, 15,000 people are skilled workers, and almost 30,000 people are unskilled or semi-skilled workers. At the same time, more than 17,000 jobs were offered to the skilled workers, and only 14,000 jobs were offered to the other unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Among the intellectuals, some 1,400 enterprise leaders, some 4,300 executives, and more than 4,000 administrative workers are seeking jobs. So far, a total of 2,000 jobs have been offered to them, and only 200 leading positions.

The problem is not only that the number of people who receive unemployment benefits is constantly increasing, but also that very few people among those who have been out of work for a longer period of time are able to find jobs. Last year, 23 percent of the people regularly receiving unemployment benefits succeeded in finding new jobs; this year, only nine percent succeeded in this. Thus, the number of people who have been receiving unemployment benefits for at least six months or even more is constantly on the increase. This year there are almost 500 such people.

Constant unemployment, which is the worst situation for both the individual and his family, as well as for society, derives from the decrease of jobs. However, the overburdened labor exchange offices also contribute to this. There is no time and energy to properly find the various available jobs. Most of the people who have been receiving unemployment benefits for a long period of time are unskilled or disadvantaged people for whom it is difficult to find jobs in an accelerating economy.

We must also consider a certain opposite interest: It is more advantageous to live on unemployment benefits coupled with some ancillary and undeclared income than to accept a job that requires retraining and a change of profession.

Walesa Says He Is 'Obliged' To Become President

AU2006120090 Paris AFP in English
1140 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 20 (AFP)—Poland's Solidarity President Lech Walesa declared "war at the top" Wednesday, launching a blistering attack on Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Solidarity's parliamentary chief Bronislaw Geremek.

In an interview published in the daily GAZETA, Mr Walesa said: "To bring order to Poland, I will provoke a storm, a war at the top. I want victory, and I will only take with me the generals who rally round."

Mr Walesa said Mr Mazowieki, Mr Geremek, and Gazeta editor Adam Michnik had made mistakes, and lacked "political sense". He said they had not "seized their opportunities".

Without his support, Mr. Walesa said, "Mazowiecki would have stayed a journalist at WIEZ (a catholic magazine he edited until 1980) and Geremek would not be Geremek."

Of his personal ambitions, he said: "I do not want to be president (of the republic), but that is what I will be obliged to become. We need a strong president, prepared to go all the way."

"My colleagues chose a false concept of development in the scenario I myself created," he said, criticising the "absence of popular participation in the exercise of power".

"At the round-table talks (between Solidarity and the ruling communists in early 1989) it was I who said: without Mr Michnik and (Jacek) Kuron by my side, no negotiations. Mazowiecki and Geremek were ready to drop them."

Mr Walesa said he was in favour of splitting Solidarity into factions in the name of "pluralism". Mr Geremek and Mr Michnik should lead the left and he himself would front the centre right.

He said he would stay on as Solidarity leader for no more than 18 months because he would not be able to seek a third mandate as president of the union.

Walesa Views Current Political Issues

LD2006075890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0600 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Today's GAZETA WYBORCZA carries an extensive interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, entitled "I Don't Want to be President - I Will Have To Be."

In response to the journalist's question on whether Poland needs a president with strong powers or with moral authority, Lech Walesa replies: When everything will be in disarray, it is necessary to consider whether the president is to rule or just fulfill protocol. One should choose according to one's concept. For today, says the chairman of Solidarity, when we are changing the system, a president with an axe is necessary, one who is decisive, severe, who does not disturb democracy, but who, when he sees that certain people take advantage of the changes in the system, or steal, issues a decree valid until the time of a Sejm resolution.

Here are other statements by Lech Walesa: The transition of Poland from one system to another is very difficult; so that this may take place without quarrels, a citizens committee of course is necessary, one which gives access to all groups on the principle of coopting. The committee, says the chairman of Solidarity, should be a great forum where representatives of various orientations are jointly to work out proposals, not decisions, and where the provisional maps of a democratic Poland are to be sketched out. If I were a procrastinator I would speak out once a year and I would not lose popularity. But I, says Lech Walesa, stick my neck out through my work; I douse strikes; I take part in news conferences every week. In the letters that I receive, people do not like me because of their small pensions and low earnings. I lose popularity over unemployment, since citizens regard me as a supergovernment, and I cannot even change a secretary in the citizens committee. Hentyk Wujec, the Solidarity chairman recalled, was elected by the citizens committee, but on my nomination. The citizens committee, after all, assembles at my invitation; it is I, after all, who sign these invitations each time.

If it were true, says Lech Walesa, that I am so keen on my career, I would never have started a struggle against Michnik and Wujec. I would seek accord within this group so that they would help me. I play against my own career, added the chairman of Solidarity, for I do not like the system that we are building, and I am struggling for a new one, at my own cost.

In the final part of the interview, Lech Walesa said: This is my last term as chairman, as one cannot fiil a post longer than for two terms. I have one- and-a-half years left, probably less. I will be putting in order above all the affairs of the country. There are no results, the structural guarantees are poor. Solidarity has won, but the overlay is a hinderance [a czapa przeszkadza]. Lech Walesa in GAZETA WYBORCZA asks: On whose heads is it? And who hides under the overlay of Solidarity?

Walesa Message to Farmers on State of Agriculture

LD1906154290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Text" of letter from Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa to the Solidarity of Private Farmers of the Western Pomerania Region in Szczecin; date not given]

[Text] The state of Polish agriculture is deteriorating. Fast and firm changes are needed. The possibility of reaching an agreement with the government on farmers' demands has emerged following my meetings with farmers in Mlawa. Talks continue. I hope your problems will soon be solved. I am convinced that your arguments are justified. Without healing agriculture, the Polish economy cannot be healed. I am asking the members of the Solidarity of Private Farmers to reconsider the situation and examine all measures. You can count on my help and cooperation.

[signed] Lech Walesa

Walesa Meets PSL, SD Leaders in Gdansk

LD1906195690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Report by unidentified correspondent on news conference with representatives of the leadership of the coalition of the Polish Peasants Party, the Democratic Party, and Solidarity by unidentified reporters on 19 June in Gdansk]

[Text] The following persons took part in the meeting: Roman Bartoszcze and Roman Jagielinski from the PSL [Polish Peasants Party], Aleksander Mackiewicz and Tadeusz Rymszewicz from the SD [Democratic Party], and Solidarity was represented by Lech Walesa and Lech Kaczynski. After issuing a joint statement the meeting's participants answered reporters' questions.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] What has been established during today's meeting?

[Walesa] Above all, the fact that our contacts are indispensable. Because there exist holes in Polish pluralism, it is still threatened—this will be included in the statement—by all sorts of monopolies. We have all come to the conclusion that this pluralism must be real, that we cannot allow anyone to set up a monopoly of the Polish political scene. We will now cooperate in this sphere, so that pluralism of all the existing groups in Poland can function.

[Bartoszcze] As my colleague chairman has said, a sort of stagnation has appeared and society awaits some economic acceleration. I must say here that some people believe that peasants and the countryside demand something more than the part of consumer society who reside in towns possesses. Well, peasants do not demand anything more, they just want to produce. There is a simple reason for this: the responsibility for the biological existence of the nation. Here I think I agree with chairman Walesa completely.

[Mackiewicz] We have set up a formula for working contacts. We think this is indispensable. We must realize with great concern the progressing pauperization of society. We are especially concerned with the fact that many of our productive assets are not fully exploited. There is a mistake somewhere, and perhaps there are other traps that were created to suppress inflation. [Words indistinct] without radical changes in the structure of the economy, without these changes being speeded up we simply will not be able to come out from the wave of social revindication. [end recording]

Concern was expressed over the monopolization of the mass media, especially television, which creates a false image of social aspirations and preferences. Public opinion, subject to one-sided treatment is, as a result, not fully informed and confused. The participants of the talks have acknowledged that the system which should be created in Poland must reflect true, existing political options, which are declared in programs of political groupings operating on equal terms.

Krakow 10 Jun Meeting on Democratic Alliance

AU1906122890 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jun 90 p 1, 2

[R. Matyja report: "An Alliance for Democracy"]

[Text] On Sunday, 10 June, activists associated with "Solidarity" in a broad sense, deputies from the Citizens Parliamentary Club, representatives of RES PUBLIKA, the Polish Politics group, and activists who are close to the tendency represented by GAZETA WYBORCZA attended a meeting lasting several hours at the hospitable Jesuit order center in Krakow.

The meeting was opened by Jerzy Turowicz, the editor in chief of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. During the meeting it was stated that the period of a uniform front, united by the common threat of totalitarianism, was over. The key question is no longer whether we will be able to defeat the Communist Party, but the form and institutional character that Polish democracy should assume. It was said that the time had come for clear choices regarding programs and resolute discussion and debate.

One of the speakers said that the system had been broken, but that some remnants of it persisted. It is possible to exercise decisionmaking rights, to assume responsibility, and to develop the notion of service. However, it would appear that society is making use of its own gifts or, perhaps rather more accurately, achievements halfheartedly. It does not know how to make use of them, does not feel that it can do so fully, and fails to find representation. The more active part of society banks on the "Solidarity" name and is shocked at the collapse of a levy en masse and the absence of unity.

What has emerged is something that comes as a surprise to many people, but is logical and could have been foreseen. A society united around "Solidarity" was a great force during the struggle against totalitarianism, but this unity could not be maintained forever once victory had been achieved. The tone of the entire debate was one of support for the Mazowiecki government's economic and institutional reforms. It was said that this support has to be bolstered and that there is no serious alternative to current reforms for leading the country out of crisis.

Many speakers stressed Walesa's role and the need for dialogue with him on the further development of Polish democracy. The question of the role that Walesa should occupy in Polish public life was discussed. Doubts were expressed about whether Walesa stands above the divisions that exist in the movement—a position that he traditionally occupied—or whether he had already become one of the sides in these divisions that are emerging.

The participants in the meeting decided that a broad democratic alliance to support the reforms being instituted by Mazowiecki and the government should be formed. The discussion focused on the form that the alliance should take. Some of the speakers—they tended to be activists who are close to the GAZETA WYBORCZA tendency—stressed the need for united action, whereas others—they were most often associated with the Polish Politics group—stressed that the alliance should have a federative structure, in which individual political tendencies would preserve their clear autonomy.

A communique was approved which, it was decided, would be delivered to Premier Mazowiecki and "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union Chairman Walesa. It was signed by, among others, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Jerzy Turowicz, Henry Wozniakowski, Jan Rokita, Henryk Wujec, Kazimierz Dziewanowski, Michal Wojtczak, Andrzej Grajewski, Tomasz Wolek, and Jan Kofman.

The discussion at the Jesuit church would appear to represent an important stage in the transformation process that the old opposition is undergoing and in the process of creating new forms of political activity. The 27 May local government elections have released the brakes on disputes within "Solidarity." The rivalry between different tendencies—tendencies that have not possessed a formal character so far—within this key Polish political camp concerns a variety of matters: key posts within the movement's structure, influence on the citizens committees, and the portrayal of individual tendencies in the mass media.

Krakow Group Representatives Meet With Walesa

AU2006075590 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Senator Jerzy Stepien's Statement for ZYCIE WARSZAWY"]

[Text] At first we thought that Lech Walesa seemed to be rather critical of our Krakow meeting and the idea behind it. It is a very good thing that we all traveled to Gdansk along with Professor Jacek Wozniakowski, as was requested by the members of our meeting. The fact that in addition to presenting our document we were also able to relate the course of our debates and the intentions that lay behind our gathering directly to Lech Walesa, caused his initial reserve to us to be withdrawn. We parted under the impression that Lech Walesa understood our intentions and now knows what our discussions were all about. From this point of view I consider our meeting with him to have been extremely important.

As an aside, I might just add that I have the distinct feeling that he feels isolated. This is not the first time I have observed this. I attended a meeting he held before the elections. Looking at it from the human angle, he simply feels isolated. The heart of the matter is that until recently he was in the thick of everything, and even now he plays a very important role in the country. That is how I would describe it. In truth, he does not perform this task based on some function which is outside the union structures, and because of this, various tensions and misunderstandings arise. This even happens between those people who until recently were in his entourage, but now have other functions. It is precisely these people, the main players on our political scene, who should meet each other regularly to discuss things, remove all sorts of misunderstandings, and clarify their intentions. I am convinced that the general lines that they are putting forward would then all tend in the same direction, and we would not see these worrying divergences appearing from time to time.

I think that we have put this week firmly behind us. It was a week that proved to be so taxing on our nerves. Now we have a few important meetings at which the main political players are to appear and this will provide an opportunity for direct talks.

Peasant Party Warns of 'Political Struggle'

LD2006095890 Warsaw PAP in English 0901 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 20—"Unlike Tadeusz Mazowiecki I often met with farmers, and owing to that I am well aware of the situation in rural areas," chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Polish Peasant Party, PPP, Roman Bartoszcze told RZECZPOSPOLITA today.

Bartoszcze also said that the current government coalition is "window dressed" and that it was real only once, during the election of the prime minister, when everyone wanted the departure of communists.

The PPP leader said that his party will remain in the government under the condition that a political equilibrium will stabilize social life, otherwise his party is to start a political struggle "aimed to take over, even completely, in their hands the affairs of the state."

TU Leader Warns of 'Uncontrolled Social Outburst'

LD1706092690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Alojzy Pietrzyk, chairman of the Slasko-Dabrowski Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity Regional Board, issued a statement following a meeting between a group of OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group] parliamentarians, NSZZ Farmers' Solidarity representatives of that region, and the chairman of the regional police trade union.

According to the statement, the reforms that have been implemented, particularly the economic ones, have so far caused a drop in production and in peoples' living standards, as well as unemployment. Thus, society's dissatisfaction, concern, and frustration is natural. [passage omitted]

The present development of the situation in Poland requires that the government hold immediate and serious discussions and also consult with representatives of the public. Further procrastination over solving the fundamental problems in society could lead to an uncontrolled social outburst, which would be the end of the democratic order being created, Alojzy Pietrzyk states.

OPZZ's Miodowicz Calls for Meeting on Prices

LD1906183690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen, at yesterday's meeting with Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz, the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] leadership received information on the government's intentions concerning the scale and scope of increases in official and negotiated prices. Beginning 1 July, the following will be subject to price increases: gas, central heating, and hot water by 100 percent; electric power by 80 percent; postal services by 60 percent; and television and radio licenses by 50 percent. In addition, a considerable increase in rents for apartments is proposed. At the same time, the government presented corrective indices for the growth in wages, and methodology for the growth in social benefits. In the OPZZ's opinion, the intended increases would cause a further drastic increase in the cost of living. In view of this, OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz directed an invitation to Lech Walesa, Gabriel Janowski, Marian Jurczyk, and Janusz Maksymiuk to discuss the issues connected with the price increases and to prepare a common stance on the government's intentions.

Solidarity Presidium Prepares TU Draft Law

LD1906221490 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, June 19—The Presidium of the National Commission of Solidarity held a meeting in Gdansk today. Vice-Chairman of the National Committee Lech Kaczynski delivered a report on the visit of a trade union delegation headed by Lech Walesa to a session of the International Labour Organization. Solidarity received a place in ILO's Administrative Council while Kaczynski was elected deputy member of the Council's Secretariat for 1990-1993.

Kaczynski stressed the growing activity of trade unions from other East European countries, both in the ILO and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. There are not however new trade unions, but "revamped" ones, not infrequently of a window-dressing nature, Kaczynski pointed out.

The Presidium discussed preparations of the new law on trade unions. Irrespectively of the fact that the Senate Committee for Legislative Initiative had drawn up draft law on worker unions and the solution of worker disputes, Solidarity prepared its own draft. It will be discussed at a plenary meeting of the National Commission on June 27. At the same meeting, the National Commission is also to adopt Solidarity's stand on the privatization of state-run enterprises.

Investigator Says KGB Holding Katyn Documents

LD1906151290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] And now the ever recurring story. The revelation of places where Polish officers and prisoners of war from Ostashkov and Starobielsk are buried in the Kharkov forest and Mednoye confirms the assumption that, after all, there exist NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] documents concerning that crime in the archives of the present KGB, Dr Bozena Lojek from the Independent Historical Committee for the Investigation of the Katyn Crime said. The materials passed on to President Jaruzelski, therefore, are grossly incomplete and selected in such a way that the responsibility for that act of genocide is diminished. Polish representatives should take part in the exhumation, Dr Bozena Lojek asserted.

Foreign Ministry Appeals to USSR on Graves Find

LD1906191490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] The Foreign Ministry has appealed to Soviet authorities for permission to be granted to a group of experts from the Polish Red Cross to take part in the exhumation and identification work related to the discovery of the graves of Polish officers from the Starobelsk camp, murdered by the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs], near Kharkov in the Ukraine. In the event of the confirmation of information that the graves of Polish officers from the Ostashkov camp are located at Mednoye near the city of Kalinin, the Polish side also wants to send its experts to this crime scene.

Sejm Meets USSR's Lukyanov; Speaker Comments

LD1806215890 Warsaw PAP in English 2046 GMT 18 Jun 90

[By PAP Correspondent Jerzy Malczyk]

[Text] Moscow, June 18—A delegation of the Sejm (lower house) headed by Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz began its official visit to the Soviet Union today by meeting the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Kozakiewicz told PAP correspondent: "These talks convinced us about the good will of the Soviet side about readiness to maintain contacts with us and to tackle even unpleasant topics. On the other hand, it revealed certain reserves which still exist."

Kosakiewicz stressed that this was the first visit of a Polish Sejm delegation to the USSR following last year's parliamentary elections. "As is known, certain things have cleared up in relations between Poland and the Soviet Union and that certain other ones have piled up. Economic issues need urgent solving, for instance. We discussed this today," the Sejm speaker said, adding:

"We have a big surplus in trade with the USSR which they do not want to pay us back and include it into our debt instead. We, on the other hand have serious reservations as goes for our debt, namely that it stems from unfavourable terms under which credits were drawn as well as from incorrect interest calculations.

"Furthermore, there are issues of 'blank spots'. Certain steps have already been taken. Today I told Mr Lukyanov that one or two deputies would travel to Kharkhov to lay flowers at the just uncovered site. (mass grave of Stalinist victims possible including Polish POWS - ed.)"

"We are going to Katyn. Everyone knows that the issue of Katyn has furthe consequences—legal and financial. There are certain claims of these families. We must ponder together how to use parliamentary cooperation, which did not exist in the past, to solve these problems," the Sejm speaker pointed out.

At the end of the first day of the visit to Moscow, the Sejm delegation met with the executive board of the Moscow-based Polonian organization "dom polski".

New Soviet Ambassador on Relations

AU1906171590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 13-14 Jun 90 p 2

[Zygmunt Slomkowski's "abridged transcript" of statements by new USSR Ambassador to Poland Yuriy Kashlev to journalists at the TRYBUNA offices in Warsaw; date not given: "The Number One Country"]

[Text]

Poland's Place in the USSR's Current European Strategy

Perhaps I should disclose a secret. One of the highly placed persons that I spoke to before leaving for Poland told me that Poland is the number one country for us. It is the largest state in East Europe. Poland has an enormous influence on its neighbors. They are drawn to you and watch you, because you started earlier with a great many things. You occupy an important place in European politics. This is something that I can already say on the basis of my own experience, because, since 1973—that is, for 17 years—Poland has played a leading role in the negotiations in which I have taken part—CSCE negotiations and negotiations on disarmament questions. Before that there was the Rapacki Plan, then the Jaruzelski Plan, and now Premier Mazowiecki has announced his proposals concerning the establishment of a European Cooperation Council. On top of that, there are economic and trade ties. Until recently, Polish-Soviet trade was worth 13.5 billion rubles. This figure was only surpassed in trade with the GDR.

All this indicates that Poland has retained its role as our leading ally and partner. In my opinion, the changes that are taking place in our region, especially in Poland, may bring about corrective adjustments in our relations, but we should remain the closest of allies for geopolitical, historical, national, and emotional reasons.

The Moscow-Warsaw Axis Today

Our relations are becoming more complex. Economics is the cornerstone of all relations, and difficulties are arising in our economic and trade relations. The transition to hard currency settlements and trade based on world prices is creating problems for both the USSR and Poland. We therefore have to go through an adjustment stage. We will have genuine market-based relations in due course, but the path leading to that will be a painful one.

Second, those forces that were oriented toward cooperation with the USSR have weakened in Poland. We understand that there is political pluralism now and that many forces are opting for a different course. However, they remain good neighbors and allies, but the ideological aspect has been removed, which means that one of the elements in relations has dropped out.

There is also another area that is becoming more complicated: that of cooperation in international politics. There is a certain core, however, that allows Soviet-Polish cooperation to be preserved. This core is the product of our common interests in Europe, especially with respect to the German question, and convergent interests concerning the future of the Warsaw Pact. We do, therefore, have a basis for cooperation, although certain slight differences are evident in our approaches to certain issues.

Our relations are becoming complicated, but they are also developing toward partnership that is free from ideology and even toward partnership that is, in a sense, more commercially oriented. There is no point in wondering about whether this is a good or a bad thing. That is the course that things have taken, and one has to come to terms with it and adjust.

Expressions of Anti-Soviet Feeling in Poland

We know that there are various forces in Poland that are not favorably disposed toward us. It is sometimes said that Poland should turn its back on its socialist past and orient itself solely toward the West. The campaign against our monuments and soldiers' graves is received badly and emotionally in our country. During the talks that I have been having in Warsaw recently, ministers and others in high positions have been stressing that the spreading of anti-Soviet feeling has to be halted. The fostering of anti- Soviet feeling in Poland would be a strategic mistake.

Polish-Soviet Contacts Between Various Political and Social Forces

We know that certain forces in Poland are establishing contacts with various unofficial movements in our republics. I do not see there being any tragedy in this, with the democratization of contacts and the establishment of pluralism. What lies at the heart of the matter is the ability of these forces to understand historic responsibility. For example, if someone seeks to weaken the Soviet Union, to help republics—large or small republics—to leave the Soviet Union, then he has to consider whether this lies in Poland's interest or not. Is anti-Russian nationalism not anti-Polish nationalism at the same time? One has to be able to say what processes one wants to aid.

The Soviet Union has opted for proceeding in the direction of reform, democratization, and toward a new federation. The interests of Poland, Europe, and the whole world dictate that one should aid the Soviet Union in evolving further along this path. Objectively, no sensible person is interested in the collapse of the Soviet Union. It would be too dangerous. That is why one should compare one's feelings with one's answer to the question of what one is doing and what effect it will have.

The USSR and the Polish Economic Reforms

We are following the "Polish economic experiment." Most Soviet economists are not in favor of embarking on the Polish path. However, we still have not decided whether our reform will be more or less like your shock therapy. Many people think that our economy would not last out the Polish path for a variety of reasons. What has grown up in Poland is a kind of alliance composed of working people, trade unions, the intelligentsia, the church, and Polish expatriate communities. Everyone has confidence in the government: Conduct your experiment; we are prepared to endure the consequences. There is uncertainty in our country about the extent to which there is a similar fund of trust. The political and psychological situation in our country is such that embarking on the Polish path would be too risky. In addition, we have problems such as those concerning nationalities and relations between republics that Poland—thank God—does not.

Will There Be a Split in the CPSU?

There are various points of view. Some people maintain that internal pluralism should be permitted and unity preserved at all costs. Other say that we should not be afraid of the emergence of two parties. It is hard to predict what will happen. I am in favor of the first alternative, but, at the same time, I believe that there has to be more pluralism in the CPSU than at present—pluralism involving factions or platforms—and that there should be more internal party democracy.

Are Women and Young People Turning Their Backs on Perestroyka?

As people say, five years of perestroyka have not produced an improvement in living standards and have, in many cases, caused them to drop. Women lose out the most, because they have to wait in line more to feed their families. That is why many women are critical of the difficult conditions.

As far as young people are concerned, we have become victims of the special circumstances that have arisen. If we were to compare perestroyka to a cart, we would see that it is a cart with one enormous wheel and three small ones. The enormous wheel is glasnost. Young people are making use of it. However, as you have said, there is disappointment, because of the difficult economic conditions, and so some young people are seeking a way out through, for example, the church and even through the monarchists, because this is something that the Komsomol cannot provide. Besides, how can an organization that is so bloated in terms of numbers operate? So, young people have to become an active force working for perestroyka, but so far it has not been possible to achieve this.

What Has Surprised You About Warsaw?

I will tell you not as a diplomat, but as one journalist speaking to another. There are those customary stereotypes about various countries. Before going to England, I used to read press reports about the Thames overflowing its banks and about there being fog and smog everywhere. I did not see any of these things in London nor anywhere else for that matter. The current stereotype view of Poland is that Poland is in the midst of an experiment and people can do nothing but struggle for one thing or another. However, when I arrived here I saw that people are living normally. They are building houses and listening to Chopin. So, we have to realize that there is that need to struggle, but it does not have to alter normal life. Man has to struggle and live normally. The Poles are aware of this piece of wisdom. I live in the Konstancin district of Warsaw, and I see people cycling, running, or walking their dogs. We should not be what the English call "workaholics" and concentrate solely on struggling and working. In this sense, the Poles are wiser than we are.

FRG-USSR Meeting in Brest-Litovsk Deplored

AU1906122290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Jun 90 p 1

[Andrzej Lomanowski report: "A New 'Brest-Litovsk Peace'"]

[Text] Monday's meeting [11 June] of the foreign ministers of the USSR and the FRG, Shevardnadze and Genscher, held in Brest-Litovsk, passed amid mutual smiles and pleasantries.

Not much detail of the present talks managed to emerge. It is known, however, that the two politicians talked for several hours about the future shape of Europe.

At the news conference, Minister Genscher said that his country was offering friendship and cooperation to the Soviet Union without waiting for the outcome of the "two-plus-four" conference.

After the meeting, both ministers placed flowers on the graves of the Soviet defenders of the Brest-Litovsk fortress who were killed in 1941. In one of the graves lies the body of Akakij, the brother of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

No one put any flowers on the graves of Polish soldiers killed defending this fortress in 1939.

In Brest-Litovsk, in 1918, Soviet Russia broke its international obligations by signing a separate peace treaty with a Germany that was waging war in the West. This separatist peace treaty opened the period of close cooperation between the two countries.

In October 1939, Brest-Litovsk witnessed the joint military victory parade of the Hitlerite and Soviet Armies.

Future of Warsaw Pact Viewed

AU1906195290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with Doctor Artur Hajnicz, director of the Senate's Center for International Studies, by "KW"-signed reporter; place and date not given: "The Fear of a Vacuum"]

[Text] ["KW"] Can you let our readers know who participated in the Warsaw symposium organized by your center and U.S. The Rand Corporation on the military aspects of national security?

[Hajnicz] I have to stress that the initiative for the symposium came from The Rand Corporation. It is a large organization which provides support to the U.S. Defense Department. It is well known for its long-range studies. It currently employs some 1,500 people. The conference arranged jointly with our small center can be compared to the collaboration between an elephant and a fly.

["KW"] In the West the following question is sometimes asked: What is Poland's, or the Poles' relation to the Warsaw Pact? During the Pact's last meeting in Moscow, the Hungarians adopted a rather hard-line position, which aims at breaking up the Pact, more so than the Polish side. What is the U.S. reaction to such a situation?

[Hajnicz] The Warsaw Pact could easily function without Hungary, which, in a certain sense, occupies a marginal position in the Pact. However, without Poland, the Warsaw Pact would simply not be able to exist. If the Warsaw Pact were suddenly to collapse, the consequences for Europe would be hard to foresee.

In the first instance, there would be the breakdown of the Vienna negotiations. Conventional weapon talks are being negotiated between the two pacts. In effect, Vienna would be blocked. The CSCE talks foreseen for the fall would also be blocked. Thus, the whole disarmament program would stop. At the same time the talks on Germany would also come to a halt. These negotiations are difficult enough anyway, but the eventuality of a Warsaw Pact breakdown would cause a hardening of the Soviet position. We are talking about Poland's responsibility for the European processes, let alone its responsibility for its own security.

Two points have to be made. First, from the point of view of Polish defense interests, we want to enter a new European security system which is not based on pacts. But there is no sign of such a system, and its shape has not been sufficiently outlined. It consists of some loose ideas, which still have a long way to go toward maturity. The defense domain is an area that will not tolerate a vacuum.

My second point is the following: In reality we bear no responsibility for the internal situation of the USSR. A rapid breakdown of the Warsaw Pact, however, would not only heap more difficulties onto Gorbachev, it would bring about the thing that the Russians fear most, which is the isolation of the Soviet Union and, furthermore, the isolation of East Europe. The consequences for the domestic and international situation are incalculable. I do not know whether I have indicated sufficient arguments to illustrate how difficult it is for Poland to make a rapid decision on the matter.

We cannot ignore the other side of the problem; namely, our membership in the Warsaw Pact is the source of many difficulties for us. Our general aim is to make our way back to Europe and to integrate into its structures and economy. We do not want to be perceived as belonging to the "other side." Between our political and economic situation, our main aims in these spheres, and the realities of our defensive structures, there is a deep contradiction. Various studies have been initiated with the aim of seeking a way out of this contradiction.

["KW"] What is your opinion of the U.S. position on, or understanding of, the dilemmas for Polish security that you have just indicated?

[Hajnicz] The aim of this symposium was to enhance mutual understanding of this dilemma. There was no wasted talk at this conference; all the talking was serious. The essence of the matter was to acquaint the Americans with our dilemma and, at the same time, to make them aware of our expectations.

["KW"] What do we expect from the Americans?

[Hajnicz] The Americans have been emphatically stressing that the Warsaw Pact is cracking and will soon fall apart completely. They did not explain what this means for them, and, whether looking at the matter from this angle, they bear a greater responsibility for the security of Central Europe. We would like to know how they see all this. Thus, there were questions to which no answers were given. Nonetheless, these answers will have to be sought in the future.

["KW"] You are also a specialist on Soviet affairs. In the context of your talks with the Americans, how do you assess the state of their negotiations with Moscow on security issues?

[Hajnicz] I am more a specialist on German rather than Soviet affairs, but in a few days I am going to Moscow at the invitation of the Bogomolov Institute. I think that Poland is not interested in isolating Moscow.

["KW"] Thank you for the interview.

[Hajnicz] I would like to say one more thing. I am very pleased that after 17 years I will again appear in ZYCIE WARSZAWY. This is particularly pleasant for me, because, in the past, I spent 19 years working on the ZYCIE WARSZAWY editorial team.

Industrial Restructuring Agency To Be Formed

LD1906162190 Warsaw PAP in English 1156 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 19—Two teams appointed by the Ministries of Industry and finances have been working together on statutes of a joint stock company, to be called an industrial restructuring agency, to replace the to-date fund for industrial restructuring.

The agency as a purely economic and self-financing company will continue the fund's activities with a view to promoting private enterprises. "Thus, it will support ventures that might bring profits," Tadeusz Kowalkowski, director of the fund's team for economic policy, told PAP.

Apart from granting credits it will support small enterprises through buying their shares and help animate firms facing bankruptcy and the bankrupt ones with an eye to starting an effective economic activity.

Iliescu's Presidential Inauguration Address

AU2006100590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0816 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Speech by Ion Iliescu at inauguration as president of Romania in Bucharest—live]

[Text] Mr. President, senators and deputies, ladies and gentlemen: At this solemn time I want to express my gratitude to the Romanian people for electing me as president of Romania. The mandate granted me on 20 May demonstrated our nation's trust in the possibility of continuing and deepening the process of our country's radical renewal unleashed by the December 1989 revolution.

We can speak of a fundamental and irreversible option for democracy supported by the broad masses and we can speak of a realistic program for Romania's economic and social progress.

As the president of Romania, I believe that my mission is to be a factor in balancing and mediating the interests and actions of the political and social forces involved in our country's renaissance, and a factor for reconciling the context of the new democratic structure that is in the process of being achieved in our society.

I affirm before you and the whole country that I view this high mandate as being placed exclusively in the service of the nation and of defending and promoting its interests in the world. This noble mission can be fulfilled only with your help as elected representatives of the people and with the support of the government, of the political forces, and of all our country's citizens.

The elections in May concluded a first stage of great importance for our revolution, which marked—from a political viewpoint—the break with the totalitarian system and its ideology and an opening to create a free and democratic society based on respect and the guarantee of fundamental human rights.

In the short interval since the December revolution, from a social viewpoint, a number of glaring inequities have been eliminated; the rights due to important social and professional categories have been ensured, and first measures have been taken to put us on the road to a free and democratic society.

All this, together with other initiatives and decisions, have contributed to the reestablishment of the dignity of the Romanian people, thus constituting the first steps toward improving their quality of life.

On the economic level, during these few months guidelines of a strategic nature were adopted regarding the transition from a state and supercentralized economy to a market economy in which a decisive role is played by free initiative. The first measures in this direction have been taken.

In turn, Romania's foreign policy is characterized by radical changes. The artificial barriers of the former regime in international cooperation, which led to our country's isolation, have been eliminated. Our traditional contacts have been resumed and reconsidered and a decisive opening has taken place.

Today we are facing a new stage; we have put the provisional political stage behind us. The convening of parliament, which was elected on 20 May, and the investiture of the president places the new political process in Romania on a legitimate foundation.

However, as the serious events that took place last week demonstrated, certain extremist, minority political groups seem to look upon this as a threat. On 13 June some state institutions were attacked and devastated. There was loss of life and we had a great number of injured. Considerable damage was caused. There are numerous elements that entitle us to speak about a premeditated action, organized and coordinated in keeping with a destabilization scenario.

The general reaction of the order-forces and the coordination of communication between the police and military units were unsatisfactory. The state and government leadership faced a direct provocation, without being able to effectively cope with it.

Thus, an appeal was made to the population to help the authorities, an appeal that enjoyed wide response on the part of the people in Bucharest and other counties, including the miners, who arrived from various corners of the country. They helped clear University Square—in cooperation with the city authorities—of the burned-out vehicles so that traffic could be resumed.

Unfortunately, on 14 and 15 June—in the course of restoring public order—excesses were committed; there were acts of violence against certain institutions, party headquarters, and homes, as well as molestations of citizens who had nothing to do with the previous events. We unequivocally dissociate ourselves from all illegal actions. All these acts will be the subject of a thorough investigation, including a parliamentary one.

Viewed from the angle of the past few days, the events of 13 June seem like a genuine rebellion, like an organized antistate action pursued to discredit the political leadership of our country at home and abroad, a leadership that was elected legitimately and democratically. To replace the democratic process with anarchy and the dictate of the street is intolerable.

On the basis of the conclusions drawn from the study of the aforementioned events, in the future the state has to strengthen both its legal framework and the order-forces in order to avoid appeals to inadequate forms of maintaining public order, thus guaranteeing our citizens the peace and the security they are so much in need of.

International reactions to the events in Romania were mostly negative; they placed emphasis especially on the 14 and 15 June events. The accusations, according to which the authorities had brutally quenched a peaceful antigovernment demonstration and tried to suppress the opposition are not only irrational, but also unfounded and not in keeping with facts.

We hope and depend on the formation of a comprehensive final opinion, on an objective assessment of the facts, and on support on behalf of the international community in our efforts to very firmly continue the process of eliminating the consequences of the totalitarian regime and to work toward political democratization and our country's economic modernization. Romania's renewal can take place only on the basis of an ever broader contact with the traditional democracies.

Undoubtedly, the political process will not continue free of elements of confrontation. These have to take place, however, exclusively within the framework of loyal and civilized political discussions and within the context of competition and constructive dialogue between parties. The aim pursued is that of molding the structures of the state of law and of a democratic society based on justice and social balance. With a view to the changes that are occurring in our society, it is primarily necessary to formulate and adopt our country's future constitution—a priority and great duty, which rests on the parliament, on you as senators and deputies.

Some of the principles of this basic law have already been outlined. What is primarily at stake is the separation and balance of state powers, the parliament's control over the government, and in general, a realistic control over the political institutions and their way of operation. At stake is also political pluralism and the elimination of any possibility of concentrating power in the hands of a single person or political group and the ensurance of the rights and freedoms of the citizens.

A profound reform of the Romanian system of justice will also be needed so as to primarily achieve a broad autonomy of the system of justice. This will ensure legality and constitute a guarantee for each citizen that his rights will be protected against any violation, irrespective of who has committed it, including the government.

It is clear for all of us that the whole exercise of power has to take place within the context of the democratic political system to ensure the necessary conditions for the existence of a credible, responsible, and constructive opposition that will represent not only a viable alternative for the future, but also an important factor in molding the present by starting on the basis of the idea that democracy does not mean only the power of the majority, but also the right of the minorities to exist, to have free expression of opinion, and to have their legitimate interests protected.

The Army is a basic institution of the state. In accordance with its traditions, its basic mission is and will be to serve the people, to defend the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the country. For this, however, it is necessary that the requirement of democratizing the Army, in accordance with the changes that are taking place throughout the society, be correlated with the imperative of strengthening military discipline and with the principle of sole command [comenzii unice].

We support the restoration of the natural status and the consolidation of the prestige of the Romanian Army in modernizing its equipment and training.

In the economy, our basic option aims at remolding the whole structure we have inherited and reestablishing it on modern and realistic criteria to favor the individual and his needs. We pursue the construction of an economic democracy based on free individual and group initiative. We want an increase in the share of private economy and the government must take the necessary measures to proceed, without delay, to giving general application to the market mechanism within the framework of a coherent strategy that requires the adoption of an adequate and stimulating legal framework by the parliament.

In this context, we will have to reconsider the ownership system. We have to ensure the coexistence of all forms of ownership—private, cooperative, public, and joint. The substantial reform of the Romanian economy can be achieved only by immediately introducing a package of laws, which will institute the economic and financial levers characteristic of a market system, by simplifying the framework of government institutions, by redefining the positions and structures of the economic ministries and reducing—gradually to the point of total elimination—the intervention of ministries in the decision-making and autonomy of enterprises. The private sector will be one of the main sectors of the market economy. The policy of privatization will have to begin with the creation of a strong sector of small-scale and medium-scale industry—that is, modern from a technological viewpoint, and efficient from the point of view of its leadership and organization.

We are confronted with the problem of reorganizing the public sector of the economy. In the first stage, the current state enterprises will be turned into trading societies with state capital capable of adopting decisions on their organizational structure, wages, investments, and other matters.

Economic activity must be guided by the principle of production for the consumer. This can be achieved only by encouraging enterprises to be autonomous, by freeing prices under competitive conditions, and by eliminating intermediate bureaucratic levers.

All this has to be accompanied by an appropriate system of income and turnover taxes, and by laws on social protection that will regulate, among other things, the status and conditions of strikes, the organization of trade unions, and other things.

It is necessary to orient ourselves toward the vigorous development and diversification of public services. Transportation and telecommunications, financial, banking, and insurance institutions, tourism, and public services and facilities must all be expanded and modernized by means of both state investments and especially through private initiative, including foreign capital, a sector that ensures a particularly favorable framework for development.

It is necessary to change Romanian agriculture from its foundations. The peasants have to have the right to choose the form of their organizations and their productive activity themselves. Village residents have to fully own specific areas and cultivate them in accordance with their needs and the requirements of the market. Farmsteads will be assisted in consolidating; to this end, they will receive the necessary technical-material help. The same holds true for existing cooperatives, which will make their own decisions, thus becoming genuine free associations for their members.

Finally, it is necessary for state agricultural units to become the promoters of modern technologies in the area of agriculture.

The main objective of our economic policy has to be the creation of an economy in accordance with the current and future requirements of technological development. For this purpose, we have to modernize, as urgently as possible, the production capacities and the technologies we have. The scope of the economic modernization process requires the formulation of strategic programs for the promotion of technical progress, for financing research for our own development, for importing technology, and for supporting the efforts made by enterprises in this respect.

It is necessary to make a long-term effort that will turn Romania into a computerized society and, in general, open the road to the top technologies which today mold the new foundation of world civilization, including biotechnology and genetic engineering.

On the whole, all these efforts have to be corroborated with the adoption of the most modern management methods that will meet the criterion of maximum profitability. In this context, we have to overcome a great deal of inertia and difficulty, but this is the only way to ensure everyone's prosperity and place ourselves among the modern nations.

We can thus talk about very urgent objectives being on the agenda of the parliament and government. Within this process of changes, it is necessary for us to make use of all creative energies, the competence of our intellectuals, and the openness of young people to new things. Where needed, we have to openly appeal for the support which the international community can grant us. At the same time, measures have to be taken so that such a structural renewal is achieved with compatible means and with the real resources and possibilities of our economy, so as not to affect the political and social stability of our country, and to keep certain perturbing phenomenon, such as inflation and unemployment, under control.

A priority objective of the country's new leadership bodies is to improve the people's quality of life. We inherited an extremely serious situation, characterized by an unacceptably low living standard for a civilized society.

After the revolution, a number of social problems were partially alleviated and others were postponed; however, we cannot possibly consider them as being resolved. We should urgently and firmly address all such problems as the lack of housing, the inadequate public supply of food and consumer goods, the lack of jobs, the extremely difficult working conditions in certain branches and enterprises, the existence of certain categories of people with insufficient incomes to allow them a proper living standard, the still unsatisfactory medical care, and the insufficient social assistance.

One cannot deal with the problem of removing all the evils inherited from the old regime all at once. In this respect, the people have proved their ability to understand the complex nature of economic and social problems. One should not, however, and we certainly cannot accept a lowering of the people's living standard. We must begin tackling problems consistently and efficiently, in accordance with their level of seriousness.

For instance, it is necessary to reorganize the social assistance system, by expanding its sphere of coverage, so as to ensure normal living conditions to all socially or physically handicapped persons. Likewise, we will have to take radical steps to improve the social status of women, to improve their working and living conditions, and to restore their dignity.

The starting point in this process should be a new way of thinking in the sphere of social policy, which should no longer limit itself to compensating—through state allocations and subsidies—for the situation of underprivileged people. The main function of social policies to be pursued by parliament and the future government must be to facilitate the current changes in our society and ensure that they occur without conflicts and tensions and to counteract certain (?undesirable) phenomena, such as the accentuation of poverty or social maladjustment and the trends toward the emergence of new politically or administratively privileged strata.

In this respect it is worth highlighting the need to ensure conditions for the vocational training of youth, so that it can enter social life with an equal chance. We need the creative energy and potential of the young people in the effort to place Romanian society on new foundations.

A process of such great scope cannot be the result of state action alone, no matter how well thought out it might be. We cannot change society through mere governmental intervention, but rather through the joint effort of everybody. Therefore the government's programs and social policies should rely on and aim at involving the entire civilian society, and above all the trade unions and the professional associations, which should become stronger; the state must support them in this initial stage. Then one should stimulate the various communities to solve the problems that are specific to them. One should mobilize local civic and private initiatives.

The action of decentralization and denationalization in the sphere of social policy is as urgent as in the case of the economy, because only thus can we draw on absolutely essential resources, which are otherwise unusable, and can we ensure the consensus we need. As far as social issues are concerned, we should encourage a broad diversity of solutions and approaches, because the problems themselves are most diverse.

At the same time, I believe one should rethink the organization of local government. In a future law on local administration, one should define the principles for developing autonomy at the level of the basic administrative territorial units, by capitalizing on civic initiative and on self-administration and the free development of localities, in the interest of the human communities and of the growth of their living standard, level of civilization, and democratic development.

A primary direction of our future development involves the moral cleansing of Romanian society. The old system left behind one of the most serious inheritances in this respect: the absolute power of the state and the rigid hierarchy of all its structures. Given the existence of an economy of general poverty, this inheritance led to the all-encompassing perversion of social relations, to the corruption of people's consciences, and to moral degradation.

The revolution—in the short time that has elapsed since then—has not been able to eliminate these shortcomings. What is more, we should be aware of the fact that, in a society whose moral fiber has been profoundly affected, there is fertile ground for the proliferation of new forms of corruption and (?alienation). I believe it is necessary, therefore, to work out a real program for the moral cleansing of the Army, and primarily the public life. In this respect, it is necessary to rearrange the relations between the state apparatus and the citizen, with the former being in the service of the latter, and not the other way round. Of course, this will acquire a real basis when the state's control over the entire society is reduced, particularly when the individual's political and economic dependence on the public authority is drastically reduced.

The administrative decentralization and the privatization of the economy are important prerequisites in this respect. At the same time, the exertion of public functions should no longer depend on personal connections, and value—as the only criterion—should be observed and stimulated. Of course, this also requires a renewal and purge of the state apparatus, by eliminating the compromised, corrupt, and incompetent persons. Let us broadly open the gate to authentic values and to competent people in general. Let us encourage the access of young people to responsible positions, in which they can have a decisive say in the country's renaissance.

We require an efficient and constructive social criticism capable of exposing the illness still affecting the Romanian society, on the one hand, and finding ways and means to improve social ties, on the other. We must realize that this is not the mission of a limited group of people, of a single party, or of a single political force, but rather a general social task, which requires the contribution of all social and political forces interested in the country's progress.

Now, when we are at the start of a new road, I would like to refer to a problem that cannot be overlooked. Throughout the entire time of its functioning, the old regime managed to destroy the ethics of work, thus undermining the driving force of social progress. We have no chance of success in our constructive effort unless we can restore this work ethic. Only thus will we be able to practically capitalize on the most important resource available to us, in our effort to ensure that we are not left behind by contemporary progress—namely, the creative intelligence, the intellectual capacity, the enterprising spirit, diligence, and the sense of balance which are characteristic of our people.

Therefore, in order to attain this goal, we will have to ensure that man can be confident that the results of his work belong to him, that value is recognized and promoted, and that quality work is paid accordingly. In this respect, the utilization of the creative potential of the intelligentsia is an essential prerequisite for the progress of the Romanian society, in step with the requirements of modern civilization.

The process of our society's democratization implies the fulfillment of the fundamental rights and freedoms of all the country's citizens—including the members of ethnic, national, religious, and other minorities—proceeding from the principles upheld by our revolution, from the de facto reality that Romania is a united national state, and also from recognition of the existence of some national minorities on our country's territory.

This recognition implies both the defining, through legislative acts, of the fully equal rights of people belonging to the national minorities—in accordance with international rules and the practice of the democratic states—and the achievement of these rights in step with the democratization of the whole of Romanian society. We plan to resolutely proceed along this way, and the postrevolutionary reality—including the participation of all national minorities, with full rights, in the political life and their representation in the parliament—proves our desire for dialogue and our respect for and understanding of these problems. This intention is proved by the rights already enjoyed the members of the minorities in the sphere of education in their mother tongue and in press and culture, which compare favorably with similar regulations in other countries.

In the coming period, we will have to promote a broad opening toward the Romanians, who have emigrated, by radically improving ties with the Romanians living outside the country's borders, thus meeting their interest in the country of origin and the Romanian language and culture.

Through the victory of the December revolution and the holding of the first free elections in the postwar period, Romania has regained its dignity and the right to participate as an equal partner in the European construction effort. Regardless of the vicissitudes of older or more recent history, Romania has been, is, and will be a European country of Latin expression. Making a total break with the past, Romania is reiterating today its full adherence to the values of European civilization. We want our country to actively participate, without any kind of reservations, in the general effort of building that reality, which I would like to call the new Europe. It is necessary to rethink the ties within East Europe, to the effect of eliminating their artificial character and their asymmetric nature, in order to identify the truly common interests, among which the most important one is, without any doubt, the need to join the processes specific to the European continent. In this respect, we will pay maximum attention to basing relations with all neighboring countries on new foundations.

The common values of the democracy, particularly the mutual interest in expanding and deepening Romania's relations with all European nations, open up, in our opinion, most promising prospects for establishing a new climate of cooperation on the continent.

At a time when the entire political, economic, and military structure of the continent is being rearranged, we cannot be indifferent in the least to the ways and means by which we will integrate into this structure, or to the cost we will have to pay to defend our national interests. Therefore we believe that a realistic and viable structure of the future system of security and cooperation in Europe must necessarily involve the active participation of all signatories of the Helsinki Final Act.

The changes which have occurred and are continuing to take place in the central and eastern part of the continent, the imminent prospect of German unity, and the dramatic changes in the situation of the balance of power make us ponder in a realistic and responsible manner the most efficient ways and means to protect and promote our national interest, at a time characterized by fluidity and uncertainty. Romania considers the process of the conference on European security and cooperation and its gradual institutionalization as the only realistic way of pooling efforts and fashioning Europe's peaceful and prosperous future.

The European summit envisaged for the end of this year—the holding of which should probably not be made conditional on the conclusion of agreements to reduce conventional weapons, particularly since the content of these agreements has already been left behind by the throbbing pace of the changes on the continent—is, in our opinion, a good and necessary opportunity to lucidly examine ongoing developments and stimulate an authentic process of European renaissance.

Putting an end to the voluntarism and the sterile prestige considerations that characterized the policy of the old regime, we want to promote a broad opening toward the whole world, something which can connect us with the great processes and trends on the world level. We will pay particular attention to promoting modern forms of international cooperation with the countries that are steadily developing their economic and technological potential. We will firmly base our future relations with all states on the principles of real interests and mutual advantage and the exchange of authentic cultural and spiritual values.

We will attach particular importance to our participation in the activity of the United Nations and other international bodies and organizations.

I hope that the parliamentary majority which resulted from the ballot will attain its goals in cooperation with the other political forces, subordinating its entire action to the common determination to place national interests above everything else. In this context, in accordance with the provisions of the electoral law, I appoint Mr. Petre Roman as prime minister. [prolonged applause]

Until the new government is approved by the Deputies' Assembly and the Senate, the current government will deal with current problems.

In fulfilling the mandate entrusted to me, I will firmly work to defend civic freedoms and our unity and independence against any possible dangers, to promote our national interests, and to ensure a dignified place for our country in Europe and the world.

I am aware of my difficult mission and of the many hardships we will have to face on our way to a truly free and democratic society, a modern society of prosperity and well-being, and a society of law, which recognizes, supports, and promotes humanitarian values and intangible human rights.

Let us have confidence in the future. The differences that have emerged during the election campaign and which will continue to persist in the future cannot prevail over what binds us all—namely, the common desire to build a new and democratic Romania and our love for the country. May these feelings unite us in the common struggle for the development of the fatherland and the growth of its prestige in the world.

Thank you. [applause]

Senate Adopts Text of Presidential Oath

AU1806175790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1528 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/6/1990—During the Senate proceedings, Senator Antonie Iorgovan, independent, suggested the creation of a commission to work out the draft rules of the Senate, to include seven members according to the proportionality principle: Ion Coteanu, Paul Jerbas, Ion Predescu, Ion Popa, all from the NSF [National Salvation Front], I.V. Sandulescu, the NLP

[National Liberal Party], Zoltan Hosszu, the MDUR [Magyar Democratic Union of Romania], and Antonie Iorgovan, independent.

Senator Ion Coteanu of the NSF parliamentary group took the floor to read a draft resolution for the endorsement of the oath of Romania's president. After discussions, the following text was approved with 102 votes for and 12 against: "I swear to observe the country's laws, to safeguard man's fundamental rights and freedoms, to faithfully serve the Romanian people, to fight for their freedom and prosperity."

Iliescu Takes Oath

AU2006083190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0811 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Oath taken by Ion Iliescu on his investiture as president of Romania in Bucharest—live]

[Text] I swear allegiance to the Romanian people, to their ideals of freedom and prosperity. I swear to observe the country's laws, to protect democracy, the fundamental rights and freedoms of man, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the homeland. [applause]

Iliescu Biographical Data Outlined

AU2006075990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0705 GMT 20 Jun 90

["Political Life: Today Romania's President Is Sworn In"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/6/1990—Today, June 20, after a month since parliamentary elections Mr. Ion Iliescu, president elect, will swear the oath before the two chambers—the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies.

The inaugural will take place at 11:00 hrs., local time, [0800 GMT] at the Romanian athenaeum where seventy years ago the first parliament of unified Romania gathered.

Ion Iliescu was born on March 3, 1930, at Oltenita, in a family of railway workers. His father, one of the leaders of the inter-war working-class movement, was expelled from the Romanian Communist Party in 1944 after dissensions with Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

Educated in a worker milieu, where aspirations after freedom, democracy and better living conditions were linked to socialist promises, young Ion Iliescu became a member of the Union of Communist Youth in 1944. He enrolled in primary school in Oltenita and finished it in Bucharest. In 1941 he was admitted to the "Polizu" industrial lyceum, then he attended the "Spiru Haret" lyceum and he graduated from the "Sf. Sava" lyceum. Owing to his fine school achievement he was promoted to the leadership of the pupils' union and then of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY].

He engaged in further education, first in the Polytechnic in Bucharest and then at the Power Engineering Institute in Moscow (the waterpower-engineering department). In 1955 he got a job as designing engineer with the Power Studies and Design Institute (ISPE).

Despite his position and posts in communist-type organizations, he continued to act according to his own beliefs on democracy and freedom of thought and of expression. As by mid 1960s Romania had opened to the West, economic updating and independence from the USSR, the Communist Party was compelled to allow experts and managerially competent people to take part in economic, social and political decisionmaking. In that context, Ion Iliescu was elected first secretary of the UCY. A minister for youth affairs at a time when Europe as a whole was tormented by youth movements (1967), Ion Iliescu managed to meet most of the Romanian youth's claims through political-legislative initiatives and practical activities. He removed the idyllic demagogic outlook on the youth and on their living conditions in Romania starting from a pragmatic analysis of those problems, also on the basis of scientific means in 1968 he created the centre for research into youth affairs. He endeavored to obtained the broadest possible autonomy of the youth organization as to the party and state structures and to orient it not so much towards communist propaganda among young people as towards the resolution, even if partial, of their specific problems, against the political and economic background of the respective epoch.

In 1971 Ion Iliescu was appointed secretary in charge of propaganda of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian communist Party], a post that set him in direct contact with Nicolae Ceausescu. The immediate result was conflicts with the dictator. In that period Ceausescu had started a counteroffensive against the course towards modernization and democracy in the Romanian society trying to return to a traditional communist policy and to launch the "cultural revolution" and the personality cult. Removed from the higher party and state echelons, Ion Iliescu was appointed propaganda secretary of Timis County and then first secretary of the Iasi County party organization. Over the respective interval, the dictator mastering the party apparatus to an insufficient extent still had to consider the opinions expressed by party members as well as public opinion.

Ion Iliescu's activity in Timisoara and Iasi showed the same opposition to the regime and he continued to try to change things "from the inside" though he was more and more convinced that the fault was not one of management but one of system. Consequently, he was placed under constant surveillance by the Securitate. One of the first to have sensed and to have opposed Ceausescu's dictatorial tendency at a time when the latter's popularity was growing both at home and abroad, Ion Iliescu was also one of the first to have realized the socioeconomic and political failure of communism as both a doctrine and a system. In 1979, when Romania had reached its climax in economic growth and communist totalitarianism had not yet acquired the aberrant forms it did later, Ion Iliescu was removed from the political arena and appointed president of the National Water Council a post for which he was recommended by his profession.

In his new capacity, he tried to limit the ecological disaster that threatened Romania. Inter alia, he opposed the building of the Danube-Black Sea Canal. He was dismissed from that office, too, and in 1984 was appointed director of the technical publishing house.

Over 1984-1989 Ion Iliescu undertook studies into modern socioeconomic and technical systems, endeavoring through his editing policy to offer Romania minimal information of the rapid technical and scientific changes wrought in the developed world, of new economic policies, of the modern issue of information science applied to the economy and of the overall problems facing mankind. His was a rear-guard battle in an attempt to open up venues to a changing Europe at a time when Romania was placed more and more within the boundaries of an anachronic economic, political, cultural and scientific autarchism.

Throughout all those years he was under constant surveillance by the Securitate being considered a major political opponent and a potential threat to the system. He lived under some sort of house arrest, which removed part of his friends and acquaintances and drastically limited his contacts, in an overt attempt at isolating him.

That is why, during the December revolution both in Timisoara and in Bucharest his name was mentioned naturally, the way the names of other well-known dissidents or opponents of the regime were. On December 22, 1989 Ion Iliescu was the one who, on behalf of the new state power body the National Salvation Front Council announced the dissolution of all the power structures of the old regime, the renunciation of the principle of a single party and of Romania's being called a "socialist republic", proclaiming the need for radical changes in the Romanian society in line with the principles of democracy, freedom and human dignity, for a transition to a society set on a market economy, for political pluralism and respect for human rights.

He was elected president of the National Salvation Council and early in February 1990, with the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council, he became its president. During their national conference, the National Salvation Front nominated him as their candidate for the office of president of Romania.

He has been married to Nina Iliescu, a metallurgical engineer and scientific researcher, since 1951.

Bucharest Students Announce 19-20 Jun Strike

LD1906121790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] University students in Bucharest have announced a strike for today and tomorrow [19-20 June], in protest against last week's violent action by the miners and the arrests. They accuse the police of having provoked extreme elements and of not having done anything to curb the violence.

Interior Ministry Invites Dialogue

AU1906144290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Communique issued by the Interior Ministry to ROMPRES in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] The Interior Ministry and the Romanian Information Service—on the basis of conclusions drawn from previously held contacts—invite the representatives of the legally constituted students trade unions and the representatives of the university intelligentsia of Bucharest University Center to a dialogue-meeting on issues of mutual interests on 21 June 1990 at 1600 [1300 GMT]. The meeting will take place at the Cultural Club of the Interior Ministry on Mihai Voda Street No. 17.

Talks With Students Viewed

AU1906203190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Communique issued by the Interior Ministry in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] As announced in the written press and the audiovisual media, Mr. Minister Doru Viorel Ursu met with representatives of some student organizations and independent associations at the headquarters of the Interior Ministry on 17 and 18 June. The sides agreed that, in order to continue the democratization process in Romania, it is necessary to maintain a favorable climate for the free expression of the political opinions and convictions of all citizens. In this respect, ensuring the unhampered circulation of information is a specific feature of a state of law.

The dialogue between citizens and citizens' associations, on the one hand, and the legally constituted authorities, on the other—a dialogue which should proceed in an atmosphere of trust and observance of differing opinions—can contribute to establishing social order and strengthening democracy.

The interior minister briefed the prime minister on the preliminary conclusions of the meetings. The prime minister felt that such meetings, designed to relieve tensions in our society, were useful and reiterated the determination to support any legal initiative to ensure and consolidate democracy in Romania.

Vienna Radio: Student Leader in Prison Hospital

AU1906130790 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Horst Kimbacher report]

[Text] The government continues to claim that Wednesday's [13 June] unrest was an attempted coup. Government spokesman (Cristian Untano) just told Austrian radio that the government is confident that protests against human rights violations will stop once the embassies of the countries that have lodged protests have briefed their governments on the current situation. All protests were caused by incomplete information.

The mood among the student opposition movement is gloomy. Their leader Marian Munteanu was taken by twelve men from Urgenta hospital at midday yesterday. In the evening the students had a brief meeting with the new Interior Minister Ursu. He declined to comment on Munteanu's whereabouts. The miners broke one of Munteanu's legs and one of his arms on Thursday. Then Ursu excused himself, stating that he had an appointment with Premier Petre Roman. The government spokesman just told Austrian radio that the student leader is in a prison hospital. It is not known how many other persons have been arrested. Yesterday Leon Nica from the National Liberal Party and the spokesman of the protesters in University Square were also arrested. The protests in University Square ended peacefully at midnight yesterday. Papers are being published again today, including opposition papers.

Munteanu's Wife at Netherlands Embassy

AU1906135490 Paris AFP in English 1320 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] The Hague, June 19 (AFP)—The wife of a Romanian opposition student leader seriously injured by pro-government forces last week, has taken refuge in the Netherlands Embassy in Bucharest, the Dutch Foreign Ministry said Tuesday.

Claudia Munteanu "no longer feels safe on the street and will remain at the embassy for as long as this situation lasts," a ministry spokesman said.

Her husband Marian Munteanu, 25, was beaten up and badly injured last Thursday by miners summoned in their thousands to the capital by President Ion Iliescu to crush anti-government dissent. He was arrested on Monday at a Bucharest hospital where he was under treatment.

The official ROMPRES news agency reported that he had been arrested and charged but it did not say where he was being held.

The Dutch Ambassador Coen Stork had "contacted the Romanian authorities to help Mrs. Munteanu find her husband," the ministry spokesman said, adding that she had not asked the Netherlands for political asylum.

Opposition Leaders Face Serious Charges

AU1906205290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Communique issued by the Bucharest Prosecutor's Office in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] On 16 and 17 June 1990, the defendants Marian Munteanu, Dragos Teofan, and Dumitru Dinca, and Leon Nica were taken into preventive custody, being charged with public incitement, abetting violations, assault on public moral standards, serious violation of public quietude, and deliberate destruction of public property with serious consequences, as outlined in Articles 324; 321, Paragraph 2; and 231, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code. It is worth mentioning that in the May-June 1990 period, the accused committed many acts of public incitement and abetment of violations, calling on people, through various means, to violate the country's laws and normal behavior in society, thus causing serious and prolonged damage to public order and quietude, the Prosecutor's Office communique reads.

On 13 June 1990, they instigated and organized several groups of people who attacked public institutions—the Interior Ministry, the Bucharest Police Headquarters, the Romanian Information Service, and Romanian Television—and actively participated in these actions.

The Prosecutor's Office communique then reads: Through the use of blunt instruments prepared in advance, as well as Molotov cocktails and explosive devices, they caused damage to public assets currently estimated at around 150 million lei. During the aforementioned incidents, many order-keeping cadres and citizens were attacked and beaten up; some of these citizens also suffered material loss.

In connection with 13-15 June events, the police are also investigating other persons involved in the aforementioned incidents.

Roman Letter to Foreign Governments on Unrest

AU1906194890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Prime Minister Petre Roman expressed the conviction that the new country's parliament and the government will continue and consolidate the process of Romania's democratization, with a view to ensuring the full observation of human rights. In an informative letter to the governments of the European countries, the United States, Canada, Japan, China, and Australia, as well as to the EEC Commission, the United Nations, UNESCO, the European Parliament, and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, in connection with the 13-15 June events in Bucharest, Mr. Petre Roman requested that due consideration should be shown in the assessment of these events and that unilateral and partisan positions should be avoided. In such a way the prime minister believes real support will be given to consolidating the democratic process in Romania.

Former Galati RCP First Secretary To Be Tried

AU1906092390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0834 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Justice—Abuses Tried in Galati"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/6/1990—The trial starts in late June in Galati City, seat of the county with the same name, of Carol Dina, former first secretary of the county Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Committee. The main charge he stands is abuse of power, consisting of the use of additional funds of 2,670,373 lei for the rebuilding of the former intercounty RCP school, as well as of an official villa belonging to Constantin Dascalescu (former first secretary of the Galati County RCP Committee, and later on prime minister). Former secretary for organizational affairs Emilia Andrunache stands the same charge as accomplice.

Daily TINERETUL LIBER shows that the Galati County Procurator's Office has concluded its investigation of the case.

Four Senate Vice Presidents Elected

AU1806180590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1521 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/6/1990—At the end of vote counting, the vice-presidents of the Senate are Oliviu Gherman, 114 votes for; Vasile Mois, five votes against; Radu Campeanu, 33 votes against; Karoly Kiraly, 37 votes against.

Commission Accredits, Contests Assembly Deputies

AU1806133590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1231 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/6/1990—Mr. Adrian Severin, chairman of the Credentials Commission, read the commission's report. Before the deputies he proposed the accreditation of the elected deputies except for Messrs. Gheorghe Raducanu (the Romanian Democratic Union) and Gabriel Munteanu (Romanian Ecologic Party).

The executive board also received five contestations from the Ukrainians' Union of Romania, the Turkish Ethnic Minority Union, the Romanian Socialist Democratic Party, the Hellenic Union of Romania, the Gypsies' Party of Romania. The contestations requested either the replacement of one deputy by another within the same political grouping or the granting of a mandate in the Parliament to minority groupings. So, the Ukrainians' Union of Romania requested the replacement of Ivan Pitura, designated as deputy according to Article 4 of the election law, by Mr. Stefan Taciuc, the Union's president. As the request was sustained by the union's leadership, including Mr. Ivan Pitura, the change was approved. The Turkish Ethnic Minority Union could not obtain the mandate it requested since it was registered as an organization after the election law came into force. The Romanian Socialist Democratic Party asked for the accreditation of Mr. Gherasim Vasile as deputy of Neamt instead of Mr. Mihai Hanganu. The Hellenic Union of Romania contested Anton Nicolau's mandate of deputy of Ploiesti and requested its granting to Mr F. Sotiris. The request of the Gypsies' Party to receive a mandate for their ethnic minority was rejected by the executive board of the Credentials Commission because the minority is represented to the Parliament with an elected deputy.

Upon the chairman's proposal, the Assembly of Deputies approved the accreditation, by vote, of all the other deputies except for the above-mentioned. The Assembly approved the accreditation of deputies by open ballot, while the two cases the accreditation of which was suspended are now under debate.

Biographical Data on Senate President Birladeanu

AU1806173990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1513 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/6/1990—The Senate's session was resumed after a short delay owed to the NLP [National Liberal Party's] senators' group that were blocked for almost half an hour in one of the building's elevators.

Considering the importance of the moment the announcement of the election returns for the Senate's president Mr. Cesar Buda requested the senators to wait for the return of the NLP group.

The result of the vote was read before the whole attendance.

Of the 111 voters, 104 cast their vote for Mr. Academician Alexandru Birladeanu, NSF [National Salvation Front] candidate. There were 7 cons. [passage omitted]

Mr. Alexandru Birladeanu was born on January 25, 1911, in Tighina County. He attended the high school and University of Iasi. He started his university career as a professor at the Faculty of Law in Iasi. After 1944 he was a professor at the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest, the political economy chair. In 1955 he became a full member of the Romanian Academy. Now he is a vice-president of the Academy. He is married and has two children.

Deputies Assembly Standing Bureau Elected

AU1906180390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1709 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/6/1990—The following were elected vice-chairmen of the Standing Bureau of the Assembly of Deputies by secret ballot: Marian Enache (NSF) [National Salvation Front] 343 votes for and 36 against; Ionel Roman (NSF) 335/44; Mircea Ionescu-Quintus (NLP) [National Liberal Party] 299/80; Victor Cevdarie (the Ecological and Social Democratic Group) 201/178.

Secretaries: Bogdan Patrascu (342/37), Cazimir Ionescu (319/50) and Nicolae Radu (329/50) all three representing the parliamentary group of the National Salvation Front, and Madaras Lazar (MDUR) [Magyar Democratic Union of Romania] 214/165.

The offices of quaestors went to Emil Stoica (NSF) 320-50, and Raul Ciobanu (National Unity Group) 225/154.

The Standing Bureau of the Assembly of Deputies was thus formed the provisional leading bodies of the chamber ceasing their activity.

The Assembly of Deputies also elected unanimously the commission of deputies which, together with that set up by the Senate in its 18 June session, will inquire into the 13-15 June events. The commission is made up of deputies Nicolae S. Dumitru, Nicolae Radu, Sorin Teodor Botnaru, Constantin Sorescu, Ioan Moldovan, Nicolae Olteanu, Iulian Stancov, Gabriel Marinescu from the National Salvation Front; Laszlo Zsigmond the MDUR, Radu Ciuceanu the NLP [National Liberal Party]; Sergiu Cunescu the Ecological and Social Democratic Group; Anton Lintmaier the parliamentary group of ethnic minorities other than Hungarian; Petru Burca the parliamentary union of the Romanian National Unity; Valentin Gabrielescu the Christian and Democratic National Peasants Party; Valeriu Pescaru the Democratic Agrarian Parliamentary Group.

The assembly also adopted the text of the oath of Romania's president, previously approved by the Senate.

The Assembly of Deputies will resume its session on Wednesday afternoon.

National Union Parliamentary Group Set Up

AU1906122990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1138 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/6/1990—The Centre Democratic Group announced that, following the talks held, the Parliamentary Group of National Union was set up formed of the Romanians' National Union Party, the National Reconstruction Party, the Free Democratic Youth Party and the Bratianu Liberal Union.

Private Press Meeting To Set Up Trade Union

AU1706162890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/6/1990—A meeting of the representatives of the independent private press organs was held in Mangalia (south-eastern Romania) on June 15-16. Organised at the initiative of the local private weekly CURIER DE SIMBATA the meeting aimed at setting up a trade union organisation of the private press organs to defend the interests of the apolitical and unsponsored journalists, to elaborate a statute and to register the trade union organisation at the Constanta County Tribunal.

Radu Campeanu: Government Not 'Legitimate'

PM1906150090 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 18 Jun 90 p 7

[Report on interview with National Liberal Party leader Radu Campeanu by Gabriel Bertinetto in Bucharest on 17 June]

[Text] Bucharest—"Iliescu telephoned me. My dear Campeanu, he said, how are you? I am fine, now, I told him, because at last I have managed to come home, now that the miners have left. I would like, however, to remind you of something. I added: You are not the miners' president but the president of all Romanians. I know, Iliescu replied, and that is how our conversation ended."

Sitting behind a desk in his lounge in the typical Brincoveanu-style building on Dorobanti Street, National Liberal Party leader Radu Campeanu, 68, allowed himself a smile. He was, however, in serious danger Thursday [14 June] when vigilantes, dressed in overalls, burst into his home several times in search of documents, propaganda, and above all Campeanu himself.

"During their sixth search," his wife, Dina, interrupted, "the miners were accompanied by a certain Petu, who identified himself as deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front [NSF], fourth sector. We are here to arrest Radu Campeanu, he said. We want to try him because he is to blame for all the problems that we have in Bucharest. Fortunately my husband and I had already escaped."

[Bertinetto] Mr. Campeanu, tomorrow (18 June) sees the first session of the parliament elected 20 May. What stance will you, as the opposition, adopt on that occasion?

[Campeanu] As our first act, we will demand the formation of a special committee of inquiry to establish what really happened over the past few days. In the future ours will be a resolute but constructive opposition. We want to contribute to the development of democracy and the national economy.

[Bertinetto] So do you still believe in a democratic future for Romania?

[Campeanu] Yes, I do, though it will be difficult to change the mentality of the people in power.

[Bertinetto] Who are the enemies of democracy?

[Campeanu] Ceausescu's ghost, I would say. A period of 42 years of totalitarian propaganda has softened people's brains. Our people are paralyzed by a conservative attitude—not by any love of the old regime but, rather, by a fear of change. This, because the word "change" has been heard spoken too often in the past decades, but every time it has been for the worse.

[Bertinetto] Do you still believe that the government lacks legitimization by the people? Does the NSF's 60 percent of the votes and the 85 percent won by Iliescu in the 20 May elections mean nothing?

[Campeanu] I still believe that the elections were fraudulent. With the inauguration of parliament and then Iliescu's inauguration as chief of state, the government will become legal, but not legitimized. In the minds of society this is not a legitimate government.

[Bertinetto] Let us return to the violence of the last few days. Who carried out the attacks on public buildings in

Bucharest on Wednesday [13 June]? Who attacked police stations and the Interior Ministry? Who occupied the television station?

[Campeanu] In my opinion, they can only be provocateurs.

[Bertinetto] Why did Iliescu turn to squads of civilians armed with bars to restore order in the city?

[Campeanu] It was perhaps because he found a certain slowness in taking action on the part of the police and Army.

[Bertinetto] So does Iliescu not control the security and defense apparatuses?

[Campeanu] I cannot give a clear answer to that, but it is a fact that when called upon to take action on Wednesday, the Army did not move. Iliescu himself said so in his speech to the miners as soon as they arrived in Bucharest at dawn on Thursday. The Army no longer wishes to be accused of crimes against the people. At the trial of Securitate officers for the December massacres in Timisoara, the accused implicated the military: "It was the Army, not we, who fired on the crowd," they asserted. Now the Army is afraid of being held responsible for bloody acts of repression again.

[Bertinetto] Could it not be something graver? Is there an anti-Iliescu opposition in the Army or in other state institutions?

[Campeanu] I do not know; I am not aware of such a possibility.

Denies Giving Up NLP Presidency

AU1906160290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] ROMPRES news agency received a communique from the press service of the National Liberal Party [NLP] denying the news broadcast by some radio stations, according to which Mr. Radu Campeanu renounced the position of NLP president following his election as Senate vice president. The communique emphasizes that Mr. Radu Campeanu announced that he can no longer be president of the NLP parliamentary group in the Senate and that this position will be taken over by Mr. Senator Ion Sandulescu. It goes without saying that (?this does not affect) the position of NLP President, which Mr. Radu Campeanu continues to hold. The communique is signed by NLP President Mr. Radu Campeanu.

NPCDP's Lup News Conference on Unrest

AU1906150490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] The National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] organized a news conference this afternoon at the party headquarters at Boulevard No 37. Due to the damage done to the building on 14 and 15 June this year, the news conference, which was attended by Romanian and foreign journalist, was held in the (?courtyard). Party General Secretary Mr. Ioan Lup said that this embarrassing situation, which can be seen by all those present, is proof of methods previously unheard of in Romania's history, methods that are not characteristic of our people's psychology. Answering questions, Mr. Ioan Lup expressed confidence in the domestic and foreign public opinion and particularly in the moral renaissance of our whole people.

Referring to acts of violence committed against NPCDP headquarters and members, he said that responsibility will be established by the Prosecutor's Office bodies, with the guilty ones having to account for their deeds before the law. Concerning the party's participation in parliamentary life, he said that, as mentioned on other occasions in the past, the NPCDP is determined to constructively cooperate with the other political forces, if the latter also wants it.

* Peasant Mentality Under Privatization Unclear

90BA0160A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 5 Jun 90 p 3

[Professor Ion Stanculea article: "Privatization and the Peasant Mentality"]

[Text] Privatization, and consequently the transition to a market economy, is the immediately effective lever needed in order to increase material incentives and to obtain the volume of products required to meet consumer needs and to preclude inflation.

Following the legislation adopted after the revolution, the privatization is taking shape—albeit still timidly—in certain areas such as agriculture, trade, small-scale industry, services, etc.

The following measures are what we consider necessary in order to draw future owners and encourage them to organize private enterprises, especially in agriculture: allocating land to all the peasants; granting advantageous loans which should specify the interest rate and terms of repayment; securing supply sources for raw and other materials directly from the producers and at cost, etc.

Note that the new legislation does not clarify the situation of the peasantry sufficiently well, something that has resulted in various difficulties; by rapidly eliminating them we can facilitate the provision of material incentives for workers in that area.

In order to pave the way for stimulating the peasants and other agricultural workers and increasing their material incentives, we have the following suggestions:

1. Allocate land and other assets to peasants who were forcibly dispossessed in the past 40 years. The size of the plots and the number of livestock that each peasant will receive should be proportional to the holdings of the respective cooperative and the requirements of each family.

A situation will emerge in which some families will request more, others less, or all the same (equally).

Whether the land and the livestock are divided equally or differentiated will not be a loss to anyone, because everyone knows his limitations in utilizing and exploiting these resources.

2. The assets (land, livestock, etc.) thus split up among individuals (families) can be worked individually (by each family) or in association according to preference; people can thus form any size associations or farms they wish. Cooperative members can also choose, by general consensus, to preserve the cooperative as is, or can split off the land of those who wish to become individual owners. As is known, the great majority of peasants do not want to continue the old, forcibly imposed form with its consequences: conflicts, disagreements, and poverty.

We suspect that few rural collectives will choose to continue the present cooperatives as a form of cooperation. As is known, the fact that some members stay away from work, envy, favoritism, and mistrust generate inaction, lack of initiative, and inertia, especially during the short seasons when intensive work (campaigns) is required.

3. Merely allocating plots of land is insufficient; it can create suspicion and mistrust, because a peasant who was lied to and deceived for so long will not feel certain that the land he received, in which he plans to invest (through fertilization, amelioration, irrigation, etc.) will be his forever or whether he will be required to give it back.

People legitimately ask questions such as: To whom does this land belong? How long will it be before those who allocated it change their minds?

4. Allocating land in ownership to the peasants offers the certitude that the land and livestock belong to them, that they can bequeath or sell it if need be. This unrestricted freedom, and the safety that they are owners, will act as an incentive and will promote initiative and the will to invest in and to utilize the land in the best possible conditions.

5. In view of the fact that not all the peasants will request the same amount of land and number of livestock, differences will emerge, which they accept *a priori*. Those who cannot manage their assets by themselves (as individuals or as a family) can hire help or help each other during campaigns. Similarly, those who obtain too much production can sell it, something that will once again create differences among the rural population. In our opinion, such differences are not a disaster, in view of the fact that people are not born equal, and are predicated by the potential with which each one is born and the effort each one is willing to make for his livelihood.

6. Existing investments such as: stables, hothouses, workshops, buildings, etc., which cannot be divided up, will be sold to individuals, families, or units who will then reorganize them by themselves or in association; the money made from the sale will be divided among the cooperative members.

Cooperative and intercooperative enterprises, plantations, livestock complexes, etc. can be either sold or turned into associations in which all the peasants will participate with the shares due to them (stock). Thus, each association member will become a shareholder and will share in the profits made by the respective unit according to his participation and to the fact that the participants are free to buy or sell shares.

7. Retired cooperative members will receive plots of land and livestock like the other villagers, if that is their wish.

8. Farming tools will have to be purchased by each peasant, for which they will receive credits, in the form of contracts with agricultural machinery stations or agreements with owners or associations, which will organize agricultural services in that sector.

The privatization action will result in small, average, and larger holdings, primarily in the form of family farms, which will contribute to changing the mentality of the peasants and the aspect of the villages, securing workers who want to and can achieve yields unconceivable in the conditions of the late, unlamented regime.

* Appeal of National Peasant Party to All Ages

90BA0162B Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 10 Jun 90 pp 1, 4

[Mihai Enescu article: "The National Peasant Idea Belongs to Both Young and Old"]

[Text] The desire to massively and immediately rejuvenate the NPCDP [National Peasant (Christian and Democratic) Party] leadership at all levels is viewed as legitimate both inside the party and by its supporters, as well as others. In view of the fact that the Romanian society is genuinely hungry for the future and impatient to get there, rejuvenating one of the most important political forces for the laborious democratization process in our country can only be viewed as necessary and natural.

Romania needs democracy and political forces that can and must bring about this democracy. It needs political forces with the credible ability to achieve democracy. Credible not only here, but also abroad. This fact is of a major importance in both aspects. Here, because many of the Romanian people are fed up with unkept political promises and have little experience with understanding and wielding the mechanisms of democracy. And abroad, because we need massive bank loans, as well as political and moral support from democratic governments and parties in the West and throughout the world. Aware of these priorities and urgent needs for our democracy, our public is bringing pressure to bear on the traditional parties of Romanian democracy to fortify their ideology and organization for the battle against communism and the sequels of that scourge. After the "free" elections where it became obvious that the NSF [National Salvation Front] neocommunists and the other communist groups and structures did not want democracy, the incontestable proof of that being the manner in which the electoral campaign and the voting was carried out, the public considerably increased its pressure on the democratic parties, particularly the NPCDP and the NLP [National Liberal Party]. Internal pressure grew, too. Thus, one of the immediate means of strengthening and modernizing these parties is rightly considered to be the massive rejuvenation of their leadership at all the levels. The matter is indeed completely necessary and feasible. The NPCDP and the NLP need young decisionmakers, people with a sound education, with social and professional prestige, and of course, and this is no joke, telegenic. This may appear simple at first sight. But if we examine the situation more thoroughly, we see that some specifications are needed and that the rejuvenation process so insistently demanded by everyone and so necessary, needs some... mature thinking. A small example is fitting here: how much credit did the electorate give the politicians belonging to the Center Group, and how was it expressed? Almost none, although the extremely telegenic presence and oratory of Mr. Virgil Vata was charming. Why was the electorate nevertheless reticent? Is it that we attach too much importance, and for nothing, to external appearances? Possible. So the youth was not given much credit, although it is wanted on television and in Parliament. Is there any lesson to be learned from this? Certainly. First of all, the electorate must know what it wants, in other words, must reconcile between reason and feelings. Responsible for the fact that these two components have been almost completely separated recently was especially the daily Romanian Television, which created emotional reactions unacceptable at what may be a unique moment in our history.

Is it really possible to suddenly evict the elderly from the leadership of the traditional democratic parties? No, it is not. It is not possible for two reasons: one, perfectly human, is that these people have suffered terribly for Romania's democracy (for example, the present NPCDP leadership adds up to over 200 years of imprisonment), and two, particularly important, these people, although they have grown old in the service of democracy, have lived and have seen democracy; they were real politicians at their time, so there are things to be learned from them. We certainly cannot give up this exceptional experience. But what will the young ones say, by which we mean not one generation, but two. Two generations that do not exactly have similar views. There are 20-year-olds who participated in the revolution, but also 40-, 45-, and 50-year-old "youngsters" who are already mature individuals with experience in leading social and economic areas. Naturally, these generations request a say in the decisionmaking of the democratic parties. What is to be done in these conditions?

The matter is of particular concern, especially to the NPCDP. This party, the overwhelming winner of the 1946 elections which were stolen by the communists, paid a dire price in the struggle against communism. Hundreds of thousands of NPCDP members were imprisoned, tortured, and killed. The survivors of the communist regime of extermination carried the national-peasant idea all the way to us, restoring and reestablishing the party. It was they, primarily they, who now, in 1990, suffered the atrocities of an electoral campaign harsher than the one in 1946. And once again they had the elections stolen away from them, this time more subtly. The tragedy of these valuable politicians is enormous. They are the first to realize that for the second time the communists have trivialized them and are overshadowing their great political ideal: democracy in Romania. But they also realize that they must make room for the youth, and that Romanian democracy—greatly shrunk after the 20 May elections that legitimized a neocommunist political group—needs young people.

In point of fact, from the very first days of its existence, the NPCDP leadership publicly declared their intention to withdraw immediately after the party was organized and was functioning democratically, as a real democratic political force. Is it time that these valuable people retire? Yes and no. Yes, because the Romanian public needs political forces with a certain muscle tone able to propel it forward. And no, because these people represent something in addition to being leaders of a democratic party; they are the bearers of the fundamental idea of this party. Which can and does mean a lot, though not everything. Not everything, because the 20 May elections, like the socioeconomic developments, will make many things clear to the Romanian electorate. People already seem to be learning to handle different ideologies and political behaviors. This means that sound reason will win. Soon, we hope, and usefully for Romanian democracy.

One thing is as clear as can be: the country needs active political forces, close to the people and to the problems that concern them. It also needs a strong opposition, which is an essential condition for our democracy. This opposition is now provided by the traditional democratic parties. The country needs political alternatives. What if the Front fails in its mission? On whom can we fall back if not on an opposition that must be strong and capable of resolving the country's problems, people's problems. In its turn, this opposition needs an opposition. This is the rule of democracy.

But all this cannot happen without young people. The elders' wisdom, understanding, and experience must be accompanied by young energy, thinking, and ideas. Captivating as it is for many young people, the national peasant idea today belongs to the young and the old as one.

* Split in National Peasant Party Discussed

90BA0162A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 10 Jun 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "The NPP (NPCDP) Earthquake"]

[Text] Our political "seismographs" have undoubtedly registered the earthquake that shook the National Peasant (Christian and Democratic) Party [NPCDP].

The "earthquake" was amply marked by a wave of press communiques, extremely contradictory reports, and even street marches this week. So far you have been able to read in ADEVARUL our reporters' stories about more or less public incidents. Now, however, we have an opportunity to present an "inside" testimony by one of the young members of that party. It is a stunning testimony, in view of the seriousness of the facts brought to the light of truth and the disillusion that transpires from every word. We will not publish the name of the young NPCDP member, at his request, and we want to ask the readers to have understanding for his wish. Because, as you will soon see, if we did not respect this wish we may become responsible for a crime. All we can reveal without endangering his person, is that the young man who came to our newspaper was present everyday, from the beginning to the end, at the NPCDP central headquarters.

"The dissatisfaction of our young members with some of the leaders and their working style is not something recent. On the contrary, it began to be felt from the very first days after the establishment of the party. But we were kept under control, put on 'mute,' and told: 'Never mind, you're still young, you don't know about politics. Trust us and you'll see that we'll win.' What could we do? We kept quiet and waited. Now we realize that it was a mistake. We didn't realize that we were being trivialized. Then came the electoral campaign and that seemingly endless chain of mistakes made by our party, followed by the elections like an implacable deadline. We, the young ones, could not believe it. We wanted to cry with rage and regret for having allowed ourselves to be deceived. We let them make politics and those were the fruits we were reaping... I'll tell you honestly, for a while we were stunned. But then things became clearer and clearer. It was clear that if we wanted to rescue the party we had to do something to remove its powerless and corrupt leadership.

"We began by convening a national conference of the party's youth organizations. There it was decided—with 25 votes in favor and seven abstentions—to set up an initiative committee to reshuffle the NPP leadership. Consequently, on the night of 5 to 6 June, the committee, meeting in special session, decided to establish a provisional directorate and to urgently convene a national NPCDP congress. But this directorate didn't remain in force for more than eight hours. Long enough, however, to be recognized by all the county organizations.

"Long enough, but useless. Because, around 1600, what we call the 'thugs team' came around to the Rossetti Square headquarters. None of your backalley thugs, but genuine professionals. At that time there were about 200 people in the building. Far from being intimidated, the thugs entered the secretariat and proceeded to oust the directorate in typical fashion. For example, Messrs. Ioan Puiu and Ioan Alexandru were soundly molested, the latter while he was on his knees praying. Things went farther with Mr. Ion Radoi—another member of the provisional directorate—who was simply thrown to the ground and beaten up. But that was only the first phase of the countercoup staged by politicians totally foreign to our aspirations. The second phase began around 2330, when the building that houses the seat of the central youth organization, the editorial staff of DREPTATEA, and several meeting halls and offices, was simply put under a 'textbook' siege. First the electricity was cut off, then the telephones. Those inside, about 20 persons, barricaded themselves and refused to come out. At that time, a commando unit made up of karate and judo experts and boxers broke the windows and tossed tear gas grenades inside! All swollen, the people under siege came out where, of course, they were beaten within one inch of their lives. The building was then trashed; the next day, the typewriters, xerox machines, television sets, even the telephones were missing. Almost everything was stolen, even the neon tubes. We were able to recognize five of the thugs. They were Ion Totir, head of the NPCDP Security, a former jailbird sentenced, I heard, for murder; Mircea Simon, a former heavyweight boxer; Ionut Gherasim, head of Mr. Coposu's office; Marius Luputiu who, as far as we know, was a police captain, and a certain Lazar, an NPCDP administrator and former maitre d' at the Interior Ministry restaurant. But there were more, all of them 'trusted' fellows, paid about 12,000 lei a month, aside from expenses for meals at the Modern Hotel restaurant or for Kent cigarettes.

"The outcome of this attack was that the old leadership was reinstated. The next day, the gate of the central headquarters was locked, and a list was posted outside with the names of those who were barred entry. The list, of course, featured the members of the directorate and many, many supporters. Then on the night of Thursday to Friday it was decided to dismantle all the county youth organizations and eight entire county organizations, for not being 'sufficiently trustworthy,' as the center explained. This is about what happened. However, we, the representatives of the youth organizations, are determined to continue our struggle to restore the party."

Thus ended the story of our young reporter. Any comment seems to us superfluous. But we must supply a few details, albeit in simplified form, in order to make things clearer: first of all, these young people don't want Mr. Ion Ratiu to remain at the back of the party leadership. This is a fact. Another fact is that the first who became disassociated from the provisional leadership were Messrs. Corneliu Coposu and Ioan Lup. It remains to be seen whether the young people's desire for greater political morality will win out. We are waiting.

* Questions About Revolution Seen Persisting

90BA0151D Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 1 Jun 90 pp 1, 4

[Marin Balasa article: "The Right to Demand Answers"]

[Text] "Before," we were accustomed to not asking, not wondering, and not raising issues. The terror of the securitate and fear of the government, the communist party, and the leadership seemed to neutralize any need we may have had to ask questions and demand answers. Sometimes we didn't even have the courage to ask ourselves questions and we didn't seek answers because too many would have run against the same heavy iron wall of interdiction, censorship, and despotism. Now, however, after the December events, after what we so liked to call a Revolution and continue to do so—although the mask has slipped off and everyone now knows about the already existing conspiracy to seize the power—now the barricades have fallen and we have won the freedom to ask questions and the right to demand answers.

Before the "Revolution," although we asked questions only in secret, we all had an answer in our hearts, albeit provisional and partial, to the problem of the Romanian tragedy, the answer that was shouted in the days of 16-22 December: "Down with Ceausescu!" But very many had already discovered another answer, and THAT broke forth from the breasts of all the young people and those who actually carried out the Revolution, from the breasts of those who fought and sacrificed their lives in December: "Down with communism!" That was the real answer, the great answer that the Romanians found to have been the only valid and rescuing one for the fate of the economy and of the individual and for the fate of the country.

After that, after the first days, we entered a period of questions and answers dealing with details and causing confusion (like, "where were you, mister, in the past five years, or 25 years?" "Radical privatization" was answered with the statement, "We're not selling out the country!" and "gradual privatization" was answered with the adjectives "inefficient" and "impossible"). However, above everything else reigned the one basic, capital, essential answer: we don't want any more communism or neocommunism; everything with a Russian coloring must disappear. That was an ANSWER, a certitude.

And all those who rallied around it, who chanted, invoked, or shouted that solution fell into the blind spot, under the contempt and strong arm of the slander of those who hold the power. A manic campaign was launched throughout the country designed to compromise all those who declared themselves against maintaining the communist foundation. Dumitru Mazilu, the only member of the first provisional "leaderships" who shouted "Down with communism!" was quickly pilloried and the leadership purposely exposed him to public scorn; while others, perhaps much more compromised and compromising than Mr. Mazilu, but who didn't shout "Down with communism!" like him, were hidden and kept close by. Doina Cornea was also calumniated for the same reason, together with almost the entire group of former political victims who no longer wanted communism.

Consequently, the only answer that has not been erased from the list of national proposals for the radical questions concerning the fate of the country and seeking replies and solutions for saving it from economic, cultural, social, and psychological disaster, was that which called for eliminating communism from Romania. Another answer is expressed in slogans like "Down with the nomenklatura!" "Down with the securitate!" "We want new, honest people in the leadership!" etc., etc. This answer, however, has been stiffled, muffled, and ignored, because the intention had not been to change the structures and because, aside from "cosmetic changes" and several dismissals or transfers of people who had not been in good relations with those who had come to power, the nomenklatura continued and continues to exist.

Thus, more or less tranquilizing questions and answers, more or less salutary desiderata and solutions, and more or less serious problems, differences of opinion, and observations have been accumulating over the past five months. Some of them make one shut oneself in the house and consider emigrating, escaping ("Remember four words: it is like before"); other, difficult questions for the government, dealing with real "mysteries," make one go out into the street ("where are the terrorists?" "who shot at us on 16-20 December?" "where are the signatories of the Proclamation of Timisoara and the members of the historical parties who went out to vote?").

People's mundane questions ("What is happening with the economy? And what about unemployment?" "what's to be done about the long lines? where is the food?") will have to be answered only through deeds, through specific decisions that will weigh heavily on the people's scales.

What is important, however, is that this nation not give up its freedom to ask questions and its right to demand answers. What is important is that no one go back to the old inhibitions and silence, the same resignation in the face of the "real situation," to being forsaken, and to subordination. What is important is that no one should give up their perplexity.

All of us want peace, reconciliation, stability, and sunny days; but not the funereal peace, the spectral silence, and the passivity of abandonment generated by the absence of questions and answers and the absence of satisfactory dialogue and vital resolution of contradictions.

* University Square Protests Against Communism

90BA0162C Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 5 Jun 90 p 1

[George Prut article: "The Essence of This Struggle: Down With Communism"]

[Text] An updated checkup of the situation in the University Square indicates that the number of participants is rising; the collective psychology picture is increasingly better, after the shock of the so-called free elections that have brought us back to totalitarianism and under the nomenklatura. The urgency and consistency of the objective of the struggle and sacrifice of those present—eliminating communism from Romania—corroborated with an exceptional political sense (see along this line the two demonstrations organized by the University Square participants on Saturday and

Sunday in front of the USSR and U.S. Embassies), and the determination to continue the struggle against communism at the cost of whatever hardships and obstacles, are unwavering. Consequently, in spite of the denigration and trivialization efforts of the press serving the communist and neocommunist cause, the University Square demonstration in Bucharest continues, carrying aloft the flame of the anticommunist struggle, against totalitarianism and the nomenklatura, and against the perpetuation of the old communist structures in Romania. Even if the results of the fraudulent election of 20 May—fraudulent primarily because the citizens were not informed about the real situation in the country and in the world—is harmful to the democratic evolution of the country and to opening it up to Europe and to Western civilization, the University Square demonstrators want to voice their faith in the capacity of the Romanian people to assume a historical development similar to those of the other European nations and to refuse to further accept a surrogate democracy, that is to say, a socialism with a human face that accomplished only minimal, cosmetic reforms. That and nothing more. The Romanian people, however, are thirsty for freedom and want both themselves and their children to achieve real democracy and a massive influx of European material and spiritual gains, in keeping with their merits and their great attributes.

The people in the University Square are making a personal sacrifice in order to demonstrate to the Romanian people—who endured so many lies before the Revolution, and the same professionally delivered lies even after it—that they are entitled to complete freedom, to the fullest democracy possible and feasible, and to all the benefits that can be engendered by their skills and the beauty and riches of their land. Quarter or half measures can only once again raise questions about the future of the Romanian people. Lies must be extirpated and the Romanians must be allowed to develop to their potential, without scenarios designed to regiment them again, without "providential" leaders, and without experiments. But that can only be achieved without communism, be it even communism with a human face, without the nomenklatura, without a secret police to continue its nefarious actions against its own people, and without common criminals placed in high state positions. There is no other road to democracy and freedom except through pluralism, through an ongoing dialogue between the authorities and the citizens, and through removing the sacred inviolability of the power.

The University Square demonstrators are showing the world that the Romanians don't want communism anymore and that those who give credit to the new communism in Romania will be deceived and will suffer the same shame that they did for their collaboration with the executed tyrant. This must be a lesson for those ready to forget so quickly for the sake of their own immediate interests or of the doctrine of "political realism."

Our compatriots must understand that the people in the University Square are not making their sacrifice for who knows what romantic motive, but for our freedom and the freedom of our children. We beg them to understand this higher meaning of the presence of hundreds and thousands of young and not so young people in the square between the Intercontinental, the University, the National Theater, and the Dunarea building. Evidently, the bodies of the usurping power are doing their best to trivialize this anticommunist movement, to ridicule and denigrate it, and to stage monstruous diversions.

However, in spite of all the pressures applied, the University Square demonstration is making strides in Romanian and international public awareness, being the visible proof of our—we would say national—struggle against communism, which in Romania was the harshest in Europe and the most difficult to eliminate.

Let us show proper respect for those who for 40 days have been giving up their lives and identities for the great cause of present-day Romania: eliminating communism and establishing democracy.

* Preservation of One-Party System Deplored

90BA0158A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 6 Jun 90 p 3

[Mihai Stratulat article: "Damaged Mentalities"]

[Text] Any analysis of the disaster inflicted by communism on the countries that fell prey to its ideology will reveal that the damage caused to mentalities was one of the most terrible sequels of the system.

Incapable of ensuring progress for the society, generating economic crisis and bankruptcy, administrative chaos, and moral decline, devoid of flexible future-oriented thinking, deeply anchored in aberrant and inhumane dogmas, promoting ideological obscurantism, systematically pursuing alienation through alignment and spreading hatred, hostility, and mistrust, communism nevertheless managed to create two institutions that achieved the peak of evil: the repressive-oppressive apparatus (directed against its own nation and designed, among other things, to maintain a general atmosphere of fear and suspicion), and a sinister propaganda machine based on lies, disinformation, falsification of history, fraud of all kinds, mind poisoning, intolerance, and a climate of anxiety and social insecurity.

The systematic destruction of education, culture, and art; the fact that the realities of the Free World were drowned under an absolutist barrage of information; the policy-program of maintaining daily hardships (food shortages with their degrading and humiliating long lines, lack of heat, warm water, and power, the mockery of public transportation, etc.); the process of impoverishment of the population (through massive indirect taxation that exceeded even the diabolical Phanariot fiscal system), and so forth, have worked together to create monsters, to cultivate certain images (desirable to the authorities), and to lead to the emergence of a collective reaction tending to reject anything that is new or comes from outside.

In this situation, teeming numbers of professional activists—cynical and given to extreme dogmatism, present in every area and deployed throughout the social hierarchy, who were in fact faithful copies of the tyrant (the protector of their parasitical existence)—and the mass media criminally injected large strata of the population with fear of any change in the socioeconomic relations introduced by communism.

The only objective of this policy was to keep the power monopoly in the hands of the single communist party, which was exercising its savage governance in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat (whereby the workers class was as oppressed as the other social classes) or, more recently, according to Nicolae Ceausescu's (original!) formula, in the name of workers revolutionary democracy.

Thus, 45 years of indoctrination and erosion of the collective awareness constitute one of the greatest tragedies inflicted by communism on the Romanian society, especially in view of the fact that the ceausism "perfected" and expanded the policy of devastating people's mentality to unfathomable lengths, especially in the past 15-20 years.

Nevertheless, in spite of this monstruous machinery, the resistance to communism which never disappeared from our lives in these 45 years of slavery, finally erupted, materializing in the revolution of December 1989, a clearly anticommunist, not merely anti-ceausescu revolution, as former and present comrades are now straining to present it.

Unfortunately, in the sensitive area of mentalities, the situation preceding the days of 16-21 December 1989 is still a sad reality.

When saying that we do not refer to the cohorts of professional activists incapable of shedding their own shadow (or of becoming involved in some truly productive activity), but to those segments of the population (including some of the intellectuals), deprived of information and of the most elementary political culture, which objectively, meaning not of their fault, have not managed to understand in these five months since the anticommunist revolution of December 1989 that the Romanian society, profoundly traumatized by communism, must initiate reforms and substantial changes apt to lead to the elimination of the paralyzing and metastatic communist structures.

It was indeed rather difficult for these segments to realize the objective need for essential changes since, aside from the information void inherited from the communist regime and the fright caused by ideas like "privatization," "efficiency," "competitiveness," "responsibility," and so forth, the forces opposed to novelty and to radical socioeconomic changes (because of either ideological considerations or of the fear of losing privileges that continued even after December 1989) unleashed a vast campaign of poisoning and manipulating the population for the precise purpose of discrediting the democratic and liberalizing ideas and first of all, the traditional political parties, who were deliberately accused of wanting to "sell out the country" (!), enslave Romania to foreign capital, cause mass unemployment and galloping inflation, or, more seriously, of wanting to exact revenge or to persecute those who belonged to the defunct (?) communist party.

This fatally harmful policy, even to its only beneficiaries, combined with the practical impossibility of the traditional parties (and other, new ones) to present their programs in detail, both because of the shortness of the electoral campaign and especially because of the fact that their propaganda was continuously obstructed, and with the fear of a possible socioeconomic earthquake, and the fear of having to act and decide without the guidance and supervision of the state authority were the decisive factors of the 20 May election.

The indoctrination poison, the hostility cultivated for long and bitter years, the fear of the new (continually and subtly denied), the inability to give up clearly bankrupt structures and cliches that have become almost a second nature, prevailed in the last analysis.

Nevertheless, there is only one path that our long-suffering people must choose: the radical transformation, liberalization, and modernization of the Romanian society by profoundly changing mentalities, unfettering creative energies, and shedding the inhibiting communist ideology, practices, structures, and dogmas.

The ways of attaining that long-awaited social synergy are well known and have been verified in the countries that had the fortune of not falling under communism.

They involve: renunciation of the nefarious practice of a single party (the nostalgia for which is evident today) and theatrical unanimity, staged through "grand, spontaneous mass meetings"; the existence of a real opposition within a pluralist system, not merely "generous" acceptance by the authorities of a decorative opposition "on sufferance" and always willing to offer manic support for whatever decision is taken by the majority party; the presence of a strong, efficient, and competitive sector of private economy, in view of the fact that private property is the guarantee for individual freedom and dignity; free circulation of ideas and broad openness to all democratic forms of thinking.

A normal system of genuine democracy and political and economic freedom is the only guarantee for healing the wounds inflicted by the communist regime and the only means of promoting the country's well-being.

* Transition to Market Economy Assessed

90BA0160B Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 7 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Dr. Theodor Stolojan article: "Shock Therapy or Gradual Transition"]

[Text] This is one of the questions that the governmental commission in charge of drafting a program for the transition to a market economy, chaired by Academician Tudorel Postolache, must answer clearly. Its answer, based on the specific realities prevailing in the Romanian economy and on a careful analysis of the experience of other East European countries is: a fast-paced, gradual transition made up of two interrelated stages—the first stage, which will last to the end of 1992, will consist of the establishment of the institutional bases and the mechanism of a market economy; the second stage will be focused on updating the technology of the various branches and modernizing the national economy, something that essentially will require long-term investments beyond the year 1992.

Consequently, a gradual fast-paced transition to a market economy in Romania is a requirement stemming especially from the specific realities of the Romanian economy—namely:

a) Romania's economy is already in a state of transition. This transition began violently on 22 December 1989, is irreversible, and does not resemble the transitions effected in other East European countries. The 22 December Revolution destroyed every ideological barrier on the way to transition. One of the first conclusions drawn from an analysis of the economic reform experiences of other countries (Poland after 1981, Hungary after 1968, etc.) is that they failed because they tried to remain, in one form or another, within the socialist system (a restriction imposed by both domestic factors interested in maintaining the mechanisms of the dictatorial power, and by foreign factors pertaining to membership in a military-economic bloc with an impressive center of power from the aspect of potential and possible reaction).

After examining such reforms, various foreign analysts, without taking into account the action of those ideological barriers, came to the conclusion that a gradual transition cannot give positive results. We do not share this generalization which in point of fact is also rejected by other Romanian and foreign economists;

b) Romania does not have foreign debts, but the economy is plagued by accumulated structural imbalances that no other East European country in transition has to deal with: chronic food shortages; great disproportions among production capacities in metallurgy, chemical industry, machine-building, etc. and resources of raw and other materials; years of persistently frustrated demand for housing, cars, television sets, trips abroad, etc., in parallel with the fact that the population has liquid cash. It takes time to eliminate such fundamental imbalances. In view of that, some foreign experts recommend the option of stocking shelves with goods at high prices and reducing consumer liquidity, which on the other hand allows the consumer to choose, within the limit of his resources (this option is the alternative to empty shelves, low prices, and high consumer liquidity);

c) the potential of our national economy for competitive exports in convertible currency is relatively low. In point of fact, this reality is demonstrated by the current material structure of Romanian exports and imports: the existing polarization indicates that Romania is still very much a developing country when it comes to foreign trade. Thus, in spite of all the investments made in industry, our exports of machinery, equipment, and vehicles in convertible currency made up only 8.6 percent of all our exports in 1989, while that group of goods made up 56.7 percent of our relations with the socialist countries. But we must not forget that all the East-European countries, including the USSR, are reconsidering their foreign trade relations with Eastern countries and seeking to base them on economic criteria; consequently, it is already clear that an increasing share of the East-East foreign trade will be replaced (ideally, if possible) by East-West trade. It is still difficult to calculate the effect of this shift in the foreign trade of the East European countries on Romania's industrial production and exports, but its effects can be neutralized only through a coherent macroeconomic policy;

d) the Romanian people, who take one of the lowest places in Europe from the viewpoint of the quality of life, although for over 40 years they labored with hope and "mobilized" by the discredited slogan of a better future, have great aspirations for socioeconomic progress. This fact implies the responsibility to preclude any further deterioration in the quality of life during the period of transition.

This is why a gradual fast-paced transtion, accompanied by the establishment of a modern system of social protection for the categories of people that will feel the effects of the introduction of the mechanisms of a market economy and of modern technologies is, in our view, the only feasible way and particularly, the only responsible way in which Romania can effect the transition to a market economy.

Greek Border, Economic, Ethnic Problems Reported

Authorities 'Demanding' 2,000 DM

LD1906095190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0810 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jun (TANJUG)—Beginning this morning, Greek border authorities are again demanding that Yugoslav citizens, upon entry into their country, show that they possess 2,000 Deutsche marks [DM] per person. It is still not clear how this sum has been arrived at, but the Yugoslav Automobile Club says that this is probably a matter of a regulation which the Greeks use to protect themselves from the illegal entry of foreign citizens into their country.

According to this principle, tourists and travellers entering Greece must show border guards that they have already paid for hotel accommodations in Greece, along with the sum of 1,500 drachmas, or 15 DM for each day they intend to spend in Greece. If they do not possess proof of paid hotel accommodations, they must show that for each day for the duration of their visa, in other words for three full months, they have 3,000 drachmas or 30 DM each.

For the time being, however, this provision is valid only for Yugoslav citizens wanting to travel to Greece and vacation there. Although last night it was announced that the Greeks had softened their initial decision and would request only 1,000 DM per car and 2,000 DM per truck from our citizens, the latest decision made by Greek border authorities indicates that negotiations have not yet yielded the expected results.

EC Rapprochement Hindered

AU1906194090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Jun 90

[TANJUG special correspondent Sime Vuckovic report on EEC Ministerial Council meeting in Luxembourg—live or recorded]

[Text] Until this moment, no official announcement concerning the conclusions has been issued, but it could be learned that the document has already been distributed to ambassadors of the 12 countries in Brussels. This is the usual procedure, although one has the impression that some of the Commissions's projects may be postponed for a while.

According to informed sources, today, the Greek delegation again tried in numerous ways to stop Yugoslavian rapprochement with the Community. After it asserted yesterday that Yugoslavia does not fulfill political conditions for being included into the program of the 24 OECD members designed for Central and East Europe, today it insisted that the new financial protocol valued at $1.1 billion between the 12 countries and Belgrade be conditioned on meeting Greece's requirements concerning trucks travelling on Yugoslav highways.

As regards the financial protocol, the association, or Yugoslavia's joining the program of the Western group of 24—all that the European Commission proposed at the end of May—some other and completely different Greek opinions of Yugoslavia could be heard in the European Palace in Luxembourg. They came primarily from the Italian delegation, which is, by the way, going to be chairing the the organization begining 1 July and running until the end of year.

To see whether the Greek offensive against Yugoslavia will be successful, one should wait for the end of the actual process. Much will be cleared up by the ministerial meeting of the group of 24 in Brussels scheduled for early July. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has also been invited to that meeting.

Skopje 'Provocations' Denounced

LD1906185490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1707 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Athens, 19 Jun (TANJUG)—The Greek Government today accused, like so many times before, the "local government in Skopje" of raising a "nonexistent question" and twisting historical and scientific truth. The accusations were made in connection with Yugoslavia's demands for the recognition of the Macedonian minority in Greece.

The spokesman, Byron Polidoras, said that the Greek Government was reacting [word indistinct] and directly to all forms of provocation inspired by the "Organization in Skopje." Skopje is capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Polidoras set out the Greek Government's stand condemning what it called the "unacceptable provocations" at the recent meeting on human rights and minorities in Copenhagen, where the Yugoslav delegation demanded that the rights of the Macedonian minority in Greece be fainally recognized. Athens persistently refusesd to do so.

Without entering into historical facts, Greece is again stating its unacceptable stands on the "nonexistent question." It also points out that the "provocative actions of Skopje" are contrary to international law and regulations, i.e., that the raising of this question worsens interstate relations in the region.

Moreover, Athens talks about defence of Greece's "territorial integrity and national independence." According to the Greek Government spokesman, it turns out that Yugoslavia endangers Greece.

Athens, however, kept silent on its non-recognition of either the Macedonian nation in Yugoslavia, or the Macedonian minority in Greece.

Bulgaria's Lukanov Comments on Markovic Meeting

AU1906164590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 90 p 8

["S.R."-signed report on Bulgarian Premier Lukanov's statements on "Panorama" program following discussions with President of the Executive Council Ante Markovic in Nis; date not given : "Well-Known Stands"]

[Text] Active and sincere interest in rapprochement was the main topic discussed at the meeting. The question is not, of course, solely bilateral. Relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia greatly affect the overall Balkan climate. Thereby we are not underestimating the importance and role of any Balkan country.

However, we occupy the central position on the Balkan peninsula—I mean our two states—so what is obvious here are our common interests, the joint desire to contribute to the process which began in Belgrade, and not to lag behind general European trends but, on the contrary, to be part of these trends.

Lukanov assessed the present Yugoslav economic situation as critical, with high inflation, external illiquidity, and high unemployment, which are things that yet to be resolved, but he added that positive results had been achieved thanks to the major steps taken to carry through with the Yugoslav economic reform, to which the main stimulus has been given by the new government headed by Ante Markovic.

In reply to a question on whether "the so-called Macedonian issue" had been discussed at the meeting in Nis, Premier Andrey Lukanov made the following statement:

"Yes, that issue was mentioned. The two sides made their positions known. I stressed that the present democratization of life in Bulgaria does not hinder anyone from taking a stand, from choosing for themselves what they prefer in the cultural field, and from considering themselves to be what they are or what they want to be considered as.

"However, all this does not determine the existence of a minority in our country and does not allow any interference in the internal affairs of our country. This basic human right to self-determination should be exercised and will be exercised solely within the framework of Bulgarian law and our country's Constitution and respect for its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and absolute independence.

"If we proceed from this position in any problem, in our attitude to the Balkan countries, which is connected with our complex and historic past, then there will be no problems in our bilateral relations. If we apply other approaches, I think that this will inevitably cause complications. This was openly said to my partners during our talks.

"Among other things, I would like to stress that the problem does not only concern the so-called Macedonian issue. The problem is now much wider. I stated, together with Comrade Markovic, that a tendency has recently been noticed in the Balkans toward the rebirth of nationalism and, I would say, revanchism, historical revanchism. There is hardly any country that in one respect or another would not be the object of pretensions from without and within. We both assessed this trend as very dangerous, particularly if it is supported or made use of in some way by states and the state organs of the Balkan countries. This could lead to the appearance of old destructive passions which have given our region the regrettable epithet of a powder keg.

"In any case, Ante Markovic very interestingly expressed this joint assessment, saying that we will have to work toward the Europeanization of the Balkans and not the Balkanization of Europe. I quite agree with his view and I think that all Balkan countries must realize this danger in time and take joint measures and reach the kind of agreements that will not make us regress into regrettable times of intra-Balkan hostility and tension, which was sometimes also the source of general European tension, not to mention even worse things."

Participation in 'Phare' Program To Be Decided

LD1906084890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2325 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Luxembourg, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—At their two-day meeting here, the European Community (EC) foreign ministers have not declared themselves about the European Commission's proposal for the "Phare" program to be extended to cover Yugoslavia. The program was instituted by 24 Western industrialized countries last year to help economic and prolitical reforms in Poland and Hungary.

The Commission proposed that the program should also comprise East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia.

The EC foreign ministerial council today excepted Romania and Yugoslavia. It would soon "establish contacts" with the two [word indistinct] countries through its "threesome"—the foreign ministers of France, Ireland, and Italy.

The council, however, yet made a rather conspicuous distinction between Romania and Yugoslavia. Thus Bucharest was reproached for the use of force in putting down the latest demonstrations. Bucharest was also urged to open a dialogue with the opposition, yet the twelve would not sign the recently initialled cooperation treaty with Romania.

As for Yugoslavia, a final decision would be made by the ministerial meeting of the OECD members in Brussels July 24. As was learnt tonight, the invitation to the Yugoslav foreign minister to this meeting was still open.

When asked about the reason for reserves shown tonight as regards Yugoslavia, and about what would be the purpose of the announced contacts [word indistinct], a commission spokesman gave no fuller account. He said that "one delegation" was against Yugoslavia for its not fulfilling democratic terms for admission to the "Phare" group, while other delegations "have not expressed themselves" on the point.

Israeli Cities' Delegation Visits Serbia

LD1806195990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—A delegation of nine Israeli cities, now on a week's visit to Serbia, and the government of this Yugoslav republic on Monday [18 June] agreed on the promotion of traditionally friendly relations between the two peoples and the specific forms of their cooperation in the economic, tourist and other fields.

The 36-member delegation, headed by Chairman of the Committee for International Relations of All Israeli Cities Maxim Levi, and including nine mayors and two governors, was received by Serbian Vice-Premier Dusan Mihailovic.

An economic and cultural event called Serbia Week In Israel was held in Tel Aviv earlier this month as the first step towards closer Serbia-Israeli cooperation.

Yugoslavia and Israel have no diplomatic relations since 1967, but their renewal has been announced in recent months.

FEC Vice President Outlines Economic Program

AU1806163590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jun 90 p 1

[Report on speech by Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 6 Jun]

[Text] Belgrade—It is not clear what should cause more worry to our Premier Ante Markovic: the unending praise to the results of the economic reform which again received full support from the delegates of the Federal Chamber yesterday, with minor reservations over general points, or the remark by delegate Husein Hodzic to the effect that the delegates have the right to ask the federal government just anything, even questions concerning the premier's sexual life. As Hodzic put it, it is not unessential whether the premier comes to the Assembly in a good or a bad mood. Among the serious questions connected with the economic reform and its results, it should be reported that the delegates applauded what has been achieved so far, while the remarks and suggestions referred to the fall in industrial production, the necessity of a new investment cycle, a necessary reduction of the burden borne by the economy, and the extremely restrictive monetary policy.

Zivko Pregl, vice president of the federal government, addressed all of the dilemmas and questions asked. To some extent he also indicated the outlines of the package of measures by the federal government which will be unveiled in the SFRY Assembly at the end of the month.

Replying to the delegates, Zivko Pregl first said that the conditions for economic activities will not change radically in the second half of the year, but more work will be done to adopt further steps which will continue this economic policy. It is our intention to shift the burden away from the monetary policy, so that it will not be the key and almost only factor which takes care to stop inflation. In fact, stopping inflation is not the only task now, but preserving stability is also a task. With the measures which we will propose, we have the intention of assigning a certain task to the fiscal sector which should help, as well as to the import sector which, by introducing competition to the domestic market, should assume part of the work in preserving the anti-inflationary results achieved. The income policy will also play its appropriate role. With the fine tuning and precise weighing of the measures in all these sectors, one should now preserve what has been attained and the conditions should be opened for a new development cycle. On this basis we expect that nothing important will happen in the field of prices.

Speaking about the policy of prices in communal services, from which control will be withdrawn on 20 June, Pregl said that major increases are heralded. We will meet representatives of communal organizations and attempt to reach some agreement with them. It is a matter of losing the feeling of what normal price increases are, considering that inflation had allowed annual increases of up to 2,500 percent. Therefore the announcements of 30- to 40-percent increases are incomprehensible. If somebody wants to do this under stable conditions, it means that he wants to obtain four months' earnings in one month. This cannot be accepted.

Speaking about exports, Pregl first stressed that the dinar rate of exchange will remain unchanged, and reports show that exports were increasing well in the first five months; exports to the convertible currencies area increased at a rate of 22.4 percent, and in May alone increased 22.4 percent. However, this does not mean that the question of the exporters' position is not serious. We have adopted a number of measures and a decision according to which export incentives for the export of goods will be abolished by the end of June, but its date of validity will be moved from 1 April to 1 January of this year. This means that exporters will have the right to collect incentive payments. With the abolition of the export incentives we create conditions for the external convertibility of our currency and our membership in the IMF. It is known that until now we have been reducing import dues to the benefit of exporters, and we will seriously examine the economic position of the exporters and adopt appropriate measures.

I really cannot understand, Pregl said, that while we are under the conditions of zero inflation and we expect the same in the future, some banks increase their interest rates on the basis of the expectation that inflation will increase. This month, domestic producers' prices were reduced by 0.3 percent and last month by 0.2 percent. Analyses show an additional reduction of their prices in the future is expected by 18 percent of the industry, by 10 percent of the producers of capital equipment, by 18 percent of producers of production materials, and by 23 percent of the producers of consumer goods. There is thus no doubt that inflation will increase. [sentence as published] We will propose amendments to the Law on Changing Taxes on Banking Services, with the intention of reducing the tax liabilities of banks to one-fifth, so as to reduce banking costs in this way. The National Bank of Yugoslavia will examine and reduce the discount rate, but I think that the enterprises themselves should pay more attention to the new banks. They are not burdened by past mistakes, and therefore they can offer more competitive interest rates.

In connection with the proposal on multilateral debt settlement [multilateralna kompenzacija], my reply would be as follows: Opportunities exist and I see that in some communities the Social Accounting Service has embarked on this, and in other communities the banks were sufficiently flexible and brought partners in touch with one another. Of course any such step—which should not be expected of the federal organs—will be welcome and will ease the position of the economy and make money work more efficiently. As regards the fiscal sector, we have envisaged talks with the republics and provinces to make them reduce their imports, and we plan to propose a new law on the turnover tax and on customs duties, which will reduce the tax burden. However, it is not normal that so far only the federation has been reducing the taxes on the economy. It is normal that the communes and the self-managing interest communities possess the economy's money?

In the conclusion of his speech, Zivko Pregl said that the main point of the overall action by the federal government is a new development cycle. Its backbone will be a restructuring of ownership because we think that the situation is ripe for embarking on these changes. This is not a job that can be completed overnight. Of course, a proposal for an entirely new concept of stimulating the accelerated development of the underdeveloped regions of Yugoslavia will have its prominent place within the design of the new development cycle, Zivko Pregl said, among other things.

Government Says Market To Establish Wheat Price

LD1806205290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1817 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today said that the price of wheat would be formed on the market and that the price the government had defined was only the minimum price provided in order to protect the interests of the producers.

The statement followed an announcement by several farmers' parties that they will block the main roads in the country on June 21 in protest against the low guaranteed price of wheat set by the government.

In its statement, the government cites a number of credit facilities which should make possible a bigger buy-off of wheat on the free market and reiterates its stand on a guaranteed price of 1.93 dinars (0.16 U.S. dollars).

The farmers ask that the guaranteed price be at least three dinars (0.25 U.S. dollars) per kilo, and their cause was today upheld by Secretary of the Yugoslav Agricultural Association Branko Jovanovic.

Jovanovic said that, in practice, wheat had always been bought from the producer at the guaranteed price set by the Federal Executive council (Government) and that there was no chance of its rising on the free market.

This year, supply will be higher than demand, and it is certain that the price on the free market cannot rise, but only fall.

A similar stand has been adopted by the Association of Agricultural Combines in the Province of Vojvodina, the biggest wheat producers in Yugoslavia. The combines are socially-owned agricultural organizations.

Multiparty 'Parliament' Scheduled To Meet 26 Jun

LD1906175290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Jun (TANJUG)—The first session of an all-Yugoslav multiparty parliament-in-the-making will be held on 26 June in the student cultural center in Belgrade and not, as previously announced, in the SFRY Assembly on 23 June.

The date and the venue of the first session, in which representatives of all new parties, movements, and associations are expected to take part and which is planned to evolve into a permanent institution until elections to the new multiparty Yugoslav Assembly are held, were announced today following a news conference which coincided with a meeting in the SFRY Assembly which considered an official request from the Belgrade branch of the Party of Yugoslavs [Stranka Jugoslovena] to be allowed to use the SFRY Assembly Great Hall as the venue for the session. The reply by the SFRY Assembly was negative, with an explanation that under a previous decision no sociopolitical organization is allowed to use the SFRY Assembly building for their meetings. [passage omitted]

Reaction to Serbian LC-SWAP Merger Continues

Merger's Rationale Viewed

AU1906084390 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 90 p 3

[Milan Belovic commentary: "Merger"]

[Text] The proposal, of the Presidiums of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] and the

Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] of Serbia, that these two political organizations should merge into a new organization—the Socialist Party of Serbia—is undoubtedly the political news of the week which will certainly be "dealt with" frequently in the coming days, and reactions to such a move will be featured in the most prominent places in the press. The proposal is new and has probably surprised a great many people, including even the more serious observers of events in the LC and SAWP of Serbia. This is particularly the case considering the fact that the months-long debate concerning the new "image" of the LC of Serbia as the party for democratic socialism has only recently concluded and the one concerning the transformation of the SAWP has just begun.

Although the idea for the merger was announced out of the blue, it is hard to believe that the decision was made overnight, that it had not been prepared over a long period of time, and that what was, and was not, to its advantage, as well as its possible good or bad consequences, had not been considered fully. One could feel even before all this began that something was being prepared because the deadline for ending the debate on the new orientations of the LC of Serbia was being shifted constantly, and because the front organization went throug a long period of silence and then finally—it seems more under public pressure—started its transformation.

After what has happened, one will now go in search of reasons for adopting such a proposal. The two Presidiums' explanation—saying that the LC of Serbia, affirmed as a party fighting for democratic socialism, and the Socialist Alliance, which has affirmed itself as a people's party, have been working jointly on establishing a unified state of Serbia and on furthering its prosperity—is perfectly all right, but it seems that one could add some other things to it to make things clearer, and it does not matter here which reason was the most decisive.

It is a fact that for decades the SAWP used to only be the LC's "younger brother" and that, regardless of the fact that it rallied all "socialist forces," the communists played the main role in it. Had the SAWP turned into a party, that would have involved the division of membership, too. Communists within the SAWP would have had to decide whether they wanted to stay in the LC or to "go over" to the party [stranka] that has grown from the front organization. The leaderships of these organizations have probably realized that they would both lose by separating and that it is best that, instead of becoming two opposing parties, they became one leftist-oriented political party, capable of holding its position in the multiparty political competition.

It has not been said, but one should bear in mind, that for three years and since the Eighth Session of the LC Central Committee of Serbia, the communist organization of Serbia has had little or even nothing to do with what it has inherited from the earlier period of the communist movement and authorities in Serbia and Yugoslavia. The only thing left was the phrase on "accepting everything that was good in the previous period of time" and then a complete turnabout was made after which Serbia, which used to be on its knees, has been put firmly on its feet. What also remained, apart from the said phrase, was the framework called the LC which is now most probably going to be taken away and which was particularly unsuitable for the proposed basic orientations of the LC of Serbia as the party for democratic socialism. In this document, which received full support from the grass roots, nothing has been left of the communist idea that had been supported and gravitated toward for decades. It marked the move toward the socialist, that is, social democratic ideal.

Although some people would not admit it, one must not neglect the influence of "external factors" on the adoption of the decision to merge and to drop the adjective, communist, from the new party's name. The events in our country and in East Europe and the increased discontent of the people concerning the inefficiency of communist systems in which "one regressed more and more every day and in all respects"—and what was planned was progress—simply pushed for some radical changes. In the economy, the change meant a turn toward the market economy and in politics, toward the more realistic socialist idea.

Such a move on the part of the LC and the SAWP will most probably result in a "barrage" of attacks. It would be good if both those people who are "for" and those who are "against" use well-argued facts and not blanket attacks as ammunition. A reproach that the LC and the SAWP cannot refute is that the grass roots and citizens had wasted their strength and emotions in the debate on documents written for separate and not joint use. For that reason, everything must be started anew.

Certainly one of the first questions to be asked concerning the "merger" is, what is to be done with those people who want to remain true to the classical communist ideal? The answer is simple: Today or tomorrow, everybody in Yugoslavia has the right to their own party within the valid rules of the game (the law that is to be adopted).

Djukanovic Endorses Move

AU1906184690 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 90 p 6

[G. Rakocevic report: "Serbian Unity on the Left-Wing is a Logical and Correct Move"]

[Text] Kolasin, 14 Jun—Since the First Conference of the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia, our political party has intensively sought a new identity, despite the frequently despicable blows dealt by certain leaderships, mainly from the northwest of Yugoslavia. The idea on the unification of the LC and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia is a quite logical consequence of the process of modernizing the organizational parts of the LC of Yugoslavia. This is only a solution which is more consistent and cleaner than previous ones.

Instead of various amendments and prefixes to its name, the LC of Serbia has offered a quite nominal transformation of its party [stranka], meeting the challenges of the times and concrete social and political circumstances and the mood of the membership. I hope that this decision will represent a major contribution to preserving the idea of socialism in this area, which is the most pressing aim of all progressive forces, Milo Djukanovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro, said while participating today in the work of the expanded session of the Communal Committee of the LC of Kolasin.

Djukanovic recalled that since the landmark events of January and particularly since the 10th Extraordinary Congress of the LC of Montenegro, the LC of Montenegro had also been systematically working on its own transformation, in line with the requirements of the new social ambience and not because of a desire to copy anyone, follow fashion, or adapt conditions in order to retain power.

Djukanovic stressed that a new program and statute of the LC of Montenegro will soon be adopted, and then there will be discussions on what name will suit such a transformed party of a modern socialist orientation, which is something that will be decided by the members.

However, we do not agree to having our socialist orientation, and even the change in our party's name, certified by those who are already announcing their rigorous selection of those who can and cannot be in the left-wing socialist block, Milo Djukanovic said.

DELO Comments

AU1906161590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Jun 90 p 32

[Boris Jez article: "The Left as 'Social Property'"]

[Excerpts] It has obviously been decided, even in Serbia, the largest bastion of leftist values according to Balkan recipes, that it no longer pays to bother with the corpse called the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia. The Serbian party intends to merge with the Socialist Alliance of Working People, which actually means that it is abandoning the Yugoslav battlefield and turning to the domestic election campaign. This decision will undoubtedly have far-reaching consequences, because the Yugoslav political scene will definitely become "republicanized."

In the sense of the Yugoslav southeastern political views, the merger of the Communists and the "Socialists" is actually an act of treason, because many people expected that the Serbian party would rally the forces that will succeed in organizing a new LC of Yugoslavia. The matter is in fact even worse: While Ciril Ribicic and Ivica Racan preserved the identity and continuity of their organizations, Slobodan Milosevic and Bogdan Trifunovic allow themselves a "dilution" of the party into a joint socialist party. There is no doubt that they will get similar reproaches to the ones that postwar Yugoslavia received from Moscow; the Soviet comrades at that time blamed us, among other things, for letting the party organization be diluted in the mass organization of the Socialist Alliance. Well, since we have mentioned the postwar years: The decision by the Serbian Communists means, among other things, the actual end of the Yugoslav Cominform. Some republican parties have gone their own way, and others will remain under the Belgrade ideological umbrella in one way or another.

The last strategic maneuver by the Serbian political establishment (with appropriate media support from POLITIKA publications and Belgrade Radio-Television) may even make a great impression on the voters, but in its Yugoslav dimension it is certainly a poor move. The Serbian Communists have until now had in their hands all of the liturgical accessories, while the LC of Yugoslavia prepared for its "resurrection," and they have been able to present themselves as the moving force in the association of the left forces in the state. Now they have in fact retired; they probably still intend to cooperate in the Don Quixotic activities of Milan Pancevski, Nijaz Durakovic, and others, but it seems that the Yugoslav Comintern has definitively fallen apart and everybody will have to save themself.

The definitive disintegration of the LC of Yugoslavia is interesting, among other things, because of the free elections at the federal level which Yugoslavia needs to conduct if it wants to become a member of the Council of Europe and some other international organizations. Although various "Yugoslav" parties have been sprouting like mushrooms following the rain over the past few months, it is obvious that the disintegration of the LC of Yugoslavia takes from the political scene the only political organization of a genuine Yugoslav nature. Thus it is not even approximately clear who should run in the federal elections; will there be a contest, for instance, between the Markovic Party, which in fact does not exist yet, and the Alliance for the Yugoslav Political Initiative, which is a purely marginal political occurrence in the country? In short, both Brussels and Belgrade will have to slowly realize that federal multiparty elections in the present-day Yugoslavia are a contradiction in terms. Free elections to the institutions of the joint state are actually under way because of the fact that an increasing number of republican delegations, elected in free elections, are finding their way to the Federal Assembly.

We are thus in the midst of the process of complete "republicanization" of the Yugoslav political scene, which, when viewed particularly through the prevailing political tendencies in Slovenia, should be self-explanatory, so to speak. A confederate creation presupposes autonomous political events in the various member states, and joint policy is based on a State Treaty which, of course, cannot be changed from one election to another. Therefore one is surprised by the hardiness of the demands—even in Slovenia—that one should "prepare the ground" for a new organization of the leftist forces in Yugoslavia. In principle it is right that people of the same mind or of similar minds should meet, but in present-day Yugoslavia this would be a pure waste of time for the so-called left and, in fact, also a loss of voters. [passage omitted]

First of all, Yugoslavia certainly needs "an internal republican consolidation," and only when matters crystallize at this level, will sensible talks on the level of (con)federal Yugoslavia be possible.

Therefore one should at this moment give all credit to Slobodan Milosevic and Bogdan Trifunovic. If even in Slovenia some thought of a new organization of the Yugoslav left was still smoldering, the Serbian leaders, with their decision to merge into the Serbian Socialist Party, undoubtedly stamped it out for good. With a single move, the Serbian political leadership—as was to be expected—did more for a confederalization of Yugoslavia than the Croatian and Slovene elections managed to do together. Will, for instance, the party organization in the Yugoslav People's Army still demand loyalty to Tito and the LC of Yugoslavia or will it begin swearing by the Socialist Party of Serbia? Will "socialist" Milosevic still be able to demand that the "illegitimate" Kucan, Ribicic, Gosev, Racan, and others be disciplined in one way or another?

It seems that Yugoslavia is entering a completely new stage of development, which above all is marked by the retreat of the LC of Yugoslavia and a relative abstinence of the, so-called, leftist forces. Since the formation of any kind of a "rightist international" is quite impossible, all the left forces and parties will have to experience their reincarnations in their national communities. "The Yugoslav political scene" with which one could speculate at all-night televised sessions does not exist any more; it has been replaced by cool ad hoc arrangements by republican oligarchies. Thus one can expect a true flowering of "leftist exotics," ranging from new trade union movements to the formation of the hardiest factions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia; the so-called left occupies a space that is "social property" of a peculiar kind.

Serbian Presidency Discusses Territorial Defense

LD1806140190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 June (TANJUG) —Chaired by President of the Presidency Slobodan Milosevic, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia today adopted a report on the readiness of the SR of Serbia for the common defense. It was stated, as was previously announced, that the basic activities in this area, aimed at creating a uniform system of common defense throughout the republic's territory and at preparing and passing a new republican law on the common defense in keeping with the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, have been successfully carried out.

Regarding the preparations for, and the state of, the Territorial Defense units of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Presidency assessed that significant results in modernizing this system's management and commanding bodies have been achieved, and that the mobilization preparedness of the Territorial Defense units in Serbia is at a level which guarantees an efficient mobilization even under the most complex of circumstances.

The Presidency also passed guidelines for organizing and preparing Civil Protection units and their activities in the Serbian SR.

In line with its competences, the Presidency also passed a decision to pardon a certain number of convicted criminals.

Serbian Legislative Employees Begin Strike

LD1806173190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1540 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—Employees in some fifty legislative organs in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia went on strike today since their demands for higher wages have been denied.

The strike had been announced on June 5th. Republican Secretary for Legislature Sreten Vadisavljevic meanwhile stated that salaries of judges and other legislative employees are indeed low. The monthly salaries of some judges are as low as 2,300 dinars (about 200 U.S. dollars).

He said that salaries of employees in legislative organs would be raised as soon as the freeze on salaries is lifted on July 1st this year.

Funds for salaries of about 5,500 dinars (about 500 U.S. dollars) for judges have already been planned in the budget.

BORBA Interview With Kosovo's Alai Reported

LD1806134890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1251 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav parliament delegate from the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Riza Alai, in an interview to the Yugoslav daily BORBA, today asked for the forming of a special state commission which would investigate into the work and conduct of police in the restless province.

Speaking within a series of talks which BORBA launched under a common title "Police in Pluralism," Alai pointed out that this is of particular importance after the Interior Secretariat of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, on whose territory the Autonomous Province of Kosovo is situated, took over all security activities of late.

He also reiterated what he said on several occasions in the Yugoslav parliament, that "the consequences of the suspension of the provincial Interior Secretariat in Kosovo are far-reaching, negative and already visible."

Recalling that the Autonomous Province of Kosovo has been feeling the bitter taste of police and state repression for nearly ten years, Alai added that "i[f] the police in Kosovo is engaged in calming the situation then it should stop to do so as soon as this is accomplished, otherwise it means political repression."

In the BORBA interview Riza Alai also said that the situation in Kosovo can be settled exclusively by means of the legal state and a dialogue and not through the repressive measures, as is the case now." [No opening quotation marks as received]

The Autonomous Province of Kosovo is the cradle of the Serbian medieval state, while today the majority population consists of ethnic Albanians.

Under a draft of the new Serbian Constitution, Kosovo should be part of a single state authority of Yugoslavia's largest republic.

Kosovo Assembly Endorses Constitution Amendments

LD1806221690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Pristina, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—The constitutional Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo today endorsed the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution with certain objections. Because of the majority vote from the commission's members of Albanian nationality, support was given to an earlier proposal under which the work on changing the SFRY Constitution cannot start without consent from the assemblies of the republics and provinces; the proposal that an opinion of the members of the federation is necessary for work to start on changes in the Constitution was rejected. Voting in the same manner ensured that an earlier proposal concerning the composition of republican and provincial delegations in the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber was upheld.

At the same time the commission endorsed unanimously amendments concerning the Yugoslav National Bank, the functioning of the common Yugoslav market, uniform taxation system, and foreign currency and monetary policies.

Serbian Opposition Provided With Radio Airtime

LD1806132190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Titograd, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—This morning Radio Titograd's first program gave approximately 50 minutes of airtime to the leaders of four opposition parties from the Socialist Republic of Serbia, who gave their version of the true events connected with the recent protest meeting by the opposition in Belgrade. The announcer informed Radio Titograd listeners that the discussion with the leaders of the opposition from another republic was held at their request, because according to them, it was not made possible for them to do this in the Belgrade information media.

Taking party in the discussion were: Milenko Radic (Radical Party), Velimir Cvetic (Social-Democratic Party), Dr. Dragoljub Micunovic and Borislav Pekic (Democratic Party), and Vuk Draskovic (Serbian Renaissance Movement). In the main they repeated (from an improvised studio in Belgrade) their well-known stances on democracy, the elections, the constitution, and the attitude of the authorities to the opposition in Serbia, and claimed that POLITIKA and Belgrade television failed to truthfuly report the protest opposition's meeting in Belgrade.

To Petition Assembly

LD1806211890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1920 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Pristina, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—Opposition representatives in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo on Monday [18 June] announced that they would on Tuesday present to the officials of the Kosovo Assembly a declaration "For Democracy—Against Violence," signed by over 300,000 citizens, primarily ethnic Albanians.

The declaration, signed in January and February, demands, among other things, the legalization of all parties in Kosovo and the holding of multi-party elections. Some of the demands contained in the declaration, such as the one on the lifting of special measures, are no longer pertinent since they have been lifted in the meantime by the federal authorities at the proposal of the Yugoslav Government and the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part.

Representatives of the Kosovo opposition told a press conference today the the police had obstructed the signing of the declaration.

The organizers claim that the declaration has also been signed (?by) ethnic Turks, Moslems and Romanies, a symbolical number of Serbs and Montenegrins and nearly all the parties in the Republic of Croatia which formed the opposition at the time.

Member of the leadership of the Serbian Socialist Alliance Halid Trnavci at the same time appealed to his fellow-citizens, ethnic Albanians, to offer support to the emerging Serbian united left, which will include the League of Communists of Serbia and the Serbian Socialist Alliance, rather than the Kosovo opposition. He corroborated the appeal with a thesis that "voting against Serbia cannot take place in Serbia" and that the Kosovo opposition is aiming to create an ethnically pure Kosovo and Greater Albania.

Trnavci believes that the leaders of the separatist Kosovo opposition, backed by the press in the Albanian language, are (?silencing) and intimidating progressive ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

Views on Reform To Be Considered

LD1906170390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1553 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jun (TANJUG)—All opposition parties in Yugoslavia's largest republic of Serbia will have a chance to state their views on the objectives and implementation of social and economic reforms, Serbian Vice-Premier Miroslav Miskovic told reporters here on Tuesday [19 June].

Miskovic made it clear that involved were the programmes for re-structuring the economy, initiating a new investment cycle, and introducing changes in the taxation system, housing, agriculture and state administration. These programmes are free from ideological colouring, said Miskovic. He stressed that the six drafts on the implementation of the reforms would be sent already today to all Serbian opposition parties, to enable them to participate in their final shaping.

SDP Leader on Free Market, Multiparty System

LD1906161390 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1114 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jun (TANJUG)—"I will strive for a Yugoslavia as a Federal State organized on democratic foundations, which implies a multi-party system and a free functioning of the market," Jovan Opacic, one of the leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) in Croatia, has stated to the Yugoslav daily BORBA.

Opacic is getting ready on June 20 to take his seat in the Croatian parliament, whose vice-president he is, since the Serbian Democratic Party in Croatia has restored relations with the Croatian legislature which it broke off last month after SDP official Miroslav Mlinar was wounded in Benkovac.

Opacic warned that he would not take part in the work of the Croatian Parliament if the Serbian people, who constitute around 11 percent of Croatia's population, are not given the status of a sovereign nation, instead of the present status of a national minority, under the new Croatian constitution.

Speaking about the situation in Croatia after the multiparty elections in May, which were won by the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU), Opacic said that it was his opinion that the "Croatian people has been manipulated in the election race" and that the "policy pursued by the Croatian leadership, with the CDU at its head, can bring no good to either the Croatian or Serbian people, or anybody else in Yugoslavia."

Opacic qualified as unacceptable the CDU idea about the national reconciliation of the Croats, which he said "implies a full political and moral rehabilitation of war criminals."

Opacic said that the "republican borders are relative and conditional and will exist for as long as does Yugoslavia as a federal state...if the Croatian state breaks away and becomes an independent state, the Serbian people, too, will, on the basis of the principle of the political right to self-determination and secession, form its own national state."

CDU's Tudjman Defends Leadership Record

LD1806013590 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1911 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Jun (TANJUG)—Dr Franjo Tudjman, the leader of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU), the ruling party in the Yugoslav republic of Croatia, today rejected the claims of some CDU members who say that he is "just a temporary solution for the CDU and Croatia." Those who claim this had better not "play with the fate of the party and the Croatian people," Tudjman warned.

The first anniversary of the CDU has shown that the ruling party is facing not only problems linked to its taking power, ie, the constitution of authorities on some levels, but inter-party problems as well.

Dr Tudjman criticized the Zagreb radio and television and some other media as a stronghold of old (Communist) forces and urged that "their contents by changed in accord with the changed circumstances in the republic."

The CDU leader concluded that the CDU must take measures to avoid "anarchy in local authorities," created precisely as the result of trying to constitute local authorities after winning the elections.

Slovene Payments to Underdeveloped Areas Debated

AU1906161290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
8 Jun 90 p 3

[S. Sicarov report: "The Executive Council of Slovenia About Its Commitments Toward the Fund for the Underdeveloped Regions: Payments Temporary"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana—At their third session under the chairmanship of Lojze Peterle, the members of the new Slovene government discussed most the implementation of Slovenia's financial commitments toward the federation and the possible consequences of the decision to stop paying funds into the federal fund for underdeveloped regions, and measures to prevent an economic collapse.

According to a report by the Republican Institute for Social Planning, Slovenia's commitments to the federal budget this year amounts to 17.2 percent of all the Federal Treasury's revenue, but getting only 6.3 percent back, which is assessed to be pronouncedly unfavorable. At the same time, a draft bill amending the Law on the Fulfillment of the Commitments of the Republic of Slovenia to an Accelerated Development of Economically Underdeveloped Republics and the Province of Kosovo was prepared, and it will be submitted to the Slovene Assembly for adoption through an urgent procedure. According to this bill, Slovenia will temporarily ensure the payment of its commitments to the federal fund, so that only direct investments by Slovene enterprises, in underdeveloped regions of Yugoslavia, will remain joint in nature. It is also envisaged that this decision should not endanger the aid to less developed regions in Slovenia itself.

Igor Umek, republican secretary for social planning, informed government members of the possible consequences which could arise for the Slovene economy should other Yugoslav republics respond to the decision, to cease payments to the underdeveloped fund, by completely blockading Slovenia economically.

According to him, it would not be possible to make good on lost sales through exports or by redirecting production to other programs, because a possible market blockade would mean the stoppage of all the production tied to sales in other republics. It is estimated that Slovene production would be, in this particular case, reduced by 37 percent. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin Group Advocates Merger With Serbia

LD1806180290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1247 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—The basis of the movement for the autonomous merging of Montenegro with Serbia is not a greater Serbian, so to speak, and still less of a Chetnik plan, but the historically based and revived aspiration to overcome the national division of the Montenegrin and Serbian nations. This was stressed by members of the initiative committee of the movement in talks with journalists today, heralding the foundation assembly of this association of citizens of Montenegro and Serbia planned for the end of June in Belgrade.

Members of the initiative committee saw the reason for today's meeting with journalists in one or two inaccurate, as they claim, reports and interpretations of the program and aspirations of the movement which have appeared in Sarajevo's ODLOBODJENJE and Zagreb's VJESNIK and DANAS. There is, in fact, an energetic rejection of the possibility that the movement might not recognize the right of Montenegrins to their Montenegrin nationality.

Members of the committee recalled that there are Montenegrins who feel and declare themselves to be members of the Montenegrin nation, but that there are also those who see the existing Montenegrin state as an attack on their own Serbian identity. It is in the historic interests of Montenegro, in the assessment of the committee, that the conflict between these two opposing desires and their corresponding aspirations—for the confirmation of the historic tradition of an independent Montenegro and for merging with Serbia—be resolved in accordance with the formula of the Podgorica Assembly of 1918, and to be more precise, that Montenegro be merged with Serbia as its autonomous province, provided the citizens of Montenegro vote in favor of this at an all-people's referendum, the holding of which will be proposed to the Montenegrin Assembly by the movement. In keeping with the outcome of the referendum, the movement would adopt a decision on its dissolution or on its transformation into a political party that would join in the struggle for political power.

According to initiative committee members Milenko Ribic, independent of the basic aim of its activity, the movement also joins in the demands for the restoration of Podgorica as the name of the capital of Montenegro, as well as for "the lexical de-Titorization" of Serbian towns such as Uzice, Vrbas, and Kosovska Mitrovica.

President of Montenegro Favors Federation System

LD1906153190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1451 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Titograd, 19 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia should be organized as a united federative, and not a confederative state, President of the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro Branko Kostic said.

Any other solution would be unfavourable for the country's most numerous nation, the Serbs, Kostic told the reserve army officers' magazine BRATSTVO I JEDINSTVO.

If Yugoslavia is not organized as a federation, around 40 per cent of the country's Serbs, who live outside Serbia, would, in the long run, face assimilation in the republics where they are not in majority.

Kostic believes that the Republic of Croatia, too, has an interest in a federation because of its economic interconnection with the other republics. In a possible confederation, Croatia could face difficulties due to a high percentage of the Serbian population in some parts of the republic. Around 11 per cent of Croatia's population are Serbs.

Kostic believes that a federation would also suit the Republic of Slovenia which, like Macedonia, obtained its statehood and national identity in Yugoslavia. Otherwise, the Slovenes, in view of their historical experience, could be exposed to assimilation by either Austria or Italy, he said.

Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia Holds Conference

LD1906083690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2343 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Skopje, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—The Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia met in a conference here tonight to review the subject "Yugoslavia as a country we are striving for." Party members unanimously demanded that Yugoslavia should continue developing and strengthening as a federation of equal nations and nationalities.

They pointed to the need for the soonest possible promulgation of a federal constitution from which republican constitutions would then ensue.

All members condemned an increasingly open nationalist, chauvinist and separatist activity of anti-Yugoslav forces in the country. They called all nations and nationalities and all patriots to rise in the defence of single Yugoslavia as the sole warrantor of national and all other freedoms, peace, security, and an overall and unimpeded development of each of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities.

They condemned especially the breaking out of nationalistic euphoria and inter-nationality hatred by certain political parties in the Republic of Macedonia and in Yugoslavia as a whole.

Vojvodina Assembly Discusses New Constitutions

LD1806201490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1737 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Province of Vojvodina today gave its support to the amendments to the Federal Constitution which have been put up for public debate by the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, and to the proposal of the State Presidency of the Republic of Serbia on the adoption of a new republican constitution.

Vojvodina Assembly Vice-President Damjan Radenkovic underscored that the public debate in Vojvodina gave support to the amendments to the Federal Constitution and also underscored the necessity of preserving the federal system in Yugoslavia and the equality of the nations and nationalities living there.

Vojvodina Presidency President Jugoslav Kostic underscored that the new Constitution of Serbia would secure the complete unity of this republic, which includes the Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, and conditions for the development of a democratic legal state.

The changes which are proposed, he pointed out, are a legal basis for eliminating the remaining elements of statehood in the position of the provinces, which will enable Serbia to get a state-legal system equal to those of other republics in the Yugoslav federation.

During the debate, there were also sporadic demands that multi-party elections be held in Serbia before the constitution is adopted. A part of the opposition in Serbia is making the same demands.

Answering such demands, Serbian State Presidency member Mihalj Kertes from Vojvodina pointed out that the people will decide about the new constitution through a referendum, so that claims that it will be adopted by communists who are now in power are groundless.